

The Nation.

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PERIODICALS DEPARTMENT

EDITORIAL

[DELETED] HISTORY

Last week, the sweeping campaign to control the flow of information from the government to the public moved forward on two fronts. The Senate Intelligence Committee approved a bill exempting C.I.A. operational files from search and review under the Freedom of Information Act. And on October 4, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia upheld the censorship of an article by former C.I.A. agent Ralph McGehee, published in *The Nation*.

McGehee's article, "The C.I.A. and the White Paper on El Salvador," appeared in the issue of April 11, 1981. It discussed disinformation and propaganda activities carried out by the agency in Indonesia in the 1950s and 1960s and in Latin America in the 1970s. McGehee submitted his article to the C.I.A. for prepublication review, and a number of deletions were ordered, indicated in the text by "[deleted]." *The Nation* joined McGehee and the A.C.L.U. in a suit charging that the agency's censorship violated freedom of the press.

The three-judge panel ruled that the courts should "defer to C.I.A. judgment as to harmful results of publication" so long as they are satisfied that the agency had "good reason" for classifying the materials. Two of the "good reasons" the court found in McGehee's case—that the censored portions identified "countries where the C.I.A. had established bases" and revealed details of operations that took place nearly twenty years ago—struck us as less than convincing.

Writing in *The New York Times Magazine*, First Amendment lawyer Floyd Abrams charged that the Administration has "a view that . . . equates security with secrecy, and treats information as if it were a potentially disabling contagious disease." We concur, and suggest that—quite the contrary—the disease is censorship, and the cure is freedom of information.

THE CHRYSLER
BAIL-OUT
Jane
Slaughter

MCCARTHYISM
IN CONGRESS
Ted Weiss

ANTI-CASTRO
PAC
Lucette
Lagnado

THE RIGHT
AND TV
Todd Gitlin

POLITICAL
FREUDIANS
Russell
Jacoby

FEMINISM
AND JUDAISM
Laura Shapiro

LOSING IN LEBANON

STUPID WAR, STUPID PEACE, NOW WHAT?

AMOS KENAN

Tell me the kind of peace you've achieved, and I'll tell you the kind of war you waged. The agreement between Israel and Lebanon ending the June 1982 war was stupid. Everything was wrong with the peace agreement because everything was wrong with the war. Everything was wrong with the war because it should never have occurred. It was based on three stupid assumptions:

(1) The United States can establish a new order in the Middle East without bringing the Soviet Union into the negotiations.

(2) There is a military solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

(3) The Maronite Christians are capable of governing Lebanon, with help from Israel.

One can see the absurdity of those assumptions at a glance. First, the Russians exist, and barring a nuclear war, they will always exist. Close your eyes, concentrate, open them again—they are still there. The United States should either drop an H-bomb on them or negotiate with them; pretending they are not there will not make them go away.

Second, the only possible military solution to the Palestinian problem is the final solution. Any other solution would not be military; it would be political. War can sometimes be justified as a way of forcing one's opponent to the negotiating table. If that was not the aim of Israel's war, Israel should have annihilated the 4 million Palestinians—or not started the war in the first place.

Third, the Maronite Christians are a minority of the Lebanese population. Even a strong minority, like the whites in South Africa, cannot expect to rule over a majority forever; a weak,

(Continued on Page 340)

LETTERS.

A NEW OPENING, A DIFFERENT SHOW

New York City

If the Miss America contest was "the Faustian victory of sexism over racism," then *The Nation's* editorial "Movin' On Up" [Oct. 1] was an equally Faustian one of condescension over common sense. Amid the "veritable Niagara of ironies," one was lost: Vanessa Williams's deliberate, defensive avoidance of the winner's usual paeans to womanhood and traditional values. Hers is the language of self-improvement and corporate feminism; her talk is all of scholarship money, job qualifications, being her own person. And since she's going to spend a year as a titled sex object, I'm glad she began it (unlike her predecessors) by speaking out for abortion rights and the E.R.A. I would have been upset if she'd said she wanted to be viewed as a black heroine—beauty pageant queens are not heroines. But if it's race consciousness the editorial was implying she lacks, she's also been quoted as saying, "I think that being Miss America and the first black woman to hold the title will help open doors for blacks, Puerto Ricans, whatever." I'd rather those doors opened onto views besides Atlantic City's, but I wouldn't want them to open onto the set of *The Jeffersons* either. Why the words of that tired show's theme song were quoted with such approval (in such outmoded dialect) escapes me.

As for the dig at Williams for not being—literally—black enough, Roy Innis said the same thing. If *The Nation* can take comfort in that, please do. None of the blacks I know had any trouble spotting Williams in a crowd of white contestants, look-alike hairdos and costumes notwithstanding. The comparison with Barry Goldwater is also odd: pigmentation is not equivalent to religious conversion.

Still, there was one astute point. Tokens like Vanessa Williams are safe, easy symbols of liberal good intentions, and they do tend to lose their appeal when they travel in large groups. (They become equals or competitors.) As one of a small group of token black contributors to magazines like *The Nation*, I am in complete agreement on that point.

Margo Jefferson

MACKENZIE ON THE F.O.I.A.

San Francisco

In the September 24 *Nation* ["The Operational Files Exemption"], I wrote that the American Civil Liberties Union and the Central Intelligence Agency had made an informal agreement concerning the exemption of the agency's operational files from the Freedom of Information Act. In the same issue, Morton Halperin and Allan Adler, writing in reply to my article ["There Is No Deal"], deny such an agreement. They state that the organization does not support S. 1324, which contains the exemption. This I explained in my article. The A.C.L.U. is lean-

ing toward approving the House's bill because of its improvements over S. 1324. I questioned those improvements, but Halperin and Adler fail to answer my questions.

"We all agree," say Halperin and Adler, "that [S. 1324] must be amended to insure that no useful information that was released in the past would be exempt from search and review." Well, I disagree. Any new exemption—and the House and Senate bills contain one, despite Halperin and Adler's denial—will be used by the agency to withhold even more information than it now does. These bills should be defeated, not amended.

Halperin and Adler fail to rebut my statement that the A.C.L.U. has not addressed the bills' provisions for dismissing pending F.O.I.A. lawsuits against the C.I.A. They also fail to rebut the central point of my argument—that the new exemption will help the C.I.A. hide its domestic spying. And they fail to explain why, if there is no deal, C.I.A. officials and A.C.L.U. sources say a "deal is on."

Finally, I resent Halperin and Adler's accusation that I've slung mud at the A.C.L.U. They say that I "portray the A.C.L.U. with unclean hands," and that my article is a "search for secret and impure motives on the part of those who have been on the front lines of the battle to preserve and to implement the F.O.I.A." On the contrary, I say in my article that the A.C.L.U. should *continue* its fight for less secrecy in government. I cite its past opposition to C.I.A. exemptions from the F.O.I.A. And in a line cut for reason of space from my manuscript, which Halperin and Adler saw to prepare their rebuttal, I credit A.C.L.U. attorney Mark Lynch with struggling long and hard for the F.O.I.A.

Perhaps those A.C.L.U. front-line fighters are a bit shellshocked after years in the trenches and need reinforcements to stop this latest assault on the F.O.I.A. It was in that spirit that I wrote my article.

Angus Mackenzie

JAMES WECHSLER'S CONTRIBUTION

New York City

As a middle-aged New York liberal, I cannot let the death of James Wechsler pass without comment. Unfortunately, the paper for which Wechsler wrote virtually all of his life is now in the forefront of reaction and sensationalism. It is for that reason that I turn to *The Nation*, which was Wechsler's first editorial home after leaving college.

To us ethnic, low-income New York City college students in the early 1950s, Wechsler's editorials counseled a rational, humane approach to our fellow men. The travails of the elite State Department crew from Harvard and Yale had little impact on us. They were a species with whom we had no familiarity.

It was Wechsler who showed us, however indirectly, that an attack on them was an attack on us all, and that if the elites from Harvard were in danger, certainly the City College crew could be next. History quickly bore out the truth of Wechsler's belief. Brooklyn College (the much-maligned "little red schoolhouse" of the 1930s and 1940s) came under attack. City College and Hunter had their share of witch hunts and professional purges, which resulted in ruined careers and disgraced families. Throughout this period, Wechsler tried to keep the faith, though he was not always successful. In fact, there were times when he may have gone over the fence in defending his own anticommunism and past associations. But for the majority of people like myself—young, confused and seeking an answer—Wechsler provided one.

I never met James Wechsler, and I think that some of the statements awarding him a place in a liberal pantheon overstate the case. He could attack the trivial (Walter Winchell) with the same fervor as the mighty (Joe McCarthy)—always, I suspect, with an eye on circulation figures. But in the early 1950s, for those of us in New York who did not have access to the great minds at Harvard and Yale, Wechsler's editorials demonstrated a commitment to a liberal purpose; he made us look beyond the narrow confines of downtown Brooklyn or Washington Heights.

Joseph D. Policano

IN PRAISE OF LEWIS

Longmeadow, Mass.

I spring to the defense of Frank W. Lewis and his cryptic (or British) puzzles. William R. Bowle of Hillsdale, N.J. ["Letters," *The Nation*, Oct. 1] reveals his lack of understanding of these puzzles when he presents his example of a "guesswork clue"—"Secretariat, perhaps, if the chores are difficult." "Are difficult" should be taken as an anagram signal: take the letters of "chores are" and rearrange them. It is a very short, logical (scientifically accurate, may I say) step to "racehorse," and Secretariat was certainly the *ne plus ultra* of racehorses! Bowle, learn the conventions of the type, just as you must know the rules to play chess correctly. I rest my case.

George S. Grosser

Citrus Spring, Fla.

I heartily disagree with the letter whose writer (mixed-up below when the wind, as sailors say, has a point to it) finds Frank W. Lewis's puzzles "stupid." On the contrary, I find these word-play exercises to be delightful. They are the most engaging feature of *The Nation*. Keep them coming! (They keep me going.)

Steve Dahlby

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double-spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Letters may be edited for reasons of space.

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EDITORIALS.

The Good Guys?

Having failed to make a convincing case for his theory that the trouble in Central America stems from the flow of arms and rebellion from Nicaragua to El Salvador under the aegis of the Soviet Union, President Reagan now stands truth on its head and makes his own war in the reverse direction. In fact, the trouble begins with the United States, which is flying arms and exporting counterrevolution from bases in El Salvador to *contra* outposts in Nicaragua. This is American aggression on a grand scale, and it is crassly hypocrit-

ical for the President to tell the world otherwise.

Some small comfort may be found in the lingering skepticism of the mainstream media under a barrage of White House propaganda. If Americans learned one lesson from the Vietnam era it is that the government cannot be trusted to tell the truth about foreign affairs. The result is that secret wars, covert ops and disinformation campaigns still make legitimate news stories.

Thus *The New York Times* reported on October 2 that "the Central Intelligence Agency is using a Salvadoran Air Force base and some Salvadoran pilots to resupply the United States-backed rebels in Nicaragua," and *Newsweek* rediscovered "the secret warriors" of the C.I.A. in its Oc-

tober 10 cover splash. In Central America, the magazine reported, the agency is spending some \$80 million this year on military operations, propaganda, destabilization and harassment, including a disinformation campaign to convince the Salvadoran people "that the guerrillas, not the Army, are the real bad guys." And in a story that appeared in *The Times* on October 6, Jeff Gerth convincingly demonstrated that one of the planes used in last month's air raids on Managua had been owned by a C.I.A. proprietary company, the Investair Leasing Corporation.

Unfortunately, such revelations seem to have lost the power to stir Congress to remedial action. Legislators, fearful of a backlash from a jingoistic electorate, are disinclined to buck the President on any issue he defines as a "national security" matter. No strong words have yet been heard from the leading Democratic Presidential candidates, who might be expected to pursue similar policies if they had the opportunity. After all, C.I.A. global skulduggery is as hallowed a Democratic tradition as it is a Republican one.

Only a popular grass-roots movement against the war will create the political conditions for ending it. That process has begun—this is not, after all, an utterly silent generation—but it will take time and, perhaps, fresh encounters with the consequences of imperial adventure. It was the nightly news-cast body count—ours, not theirs—that finally forced the United States out of Vietnam. But despite the geographic proximity, Central America still seems far away from Central Park.

Immigration Pols

When a man knows he must stand for election, as when he knows he must stand on the gallows—to adapt Doctor Johnson's famous epigram—it concentrates his mind wonderfully. So the President of the United States and the Democratic leaders of the House of Representatives finally focused on the onerous and ill-conceived Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill, and conspired, ever so tacitly, to bury it. Thus they have entered a bid for the support of Hispanic voters as the 1984 campaign begins.

It was—and surely will be again, when it reappears in some future Congress—a very bad bill. As Geoffrey Rips reported last week in *The Nation*, Simpson-Mazzoli "would make it harder for refugees to receive political asylum and would tighten controls on immigration in a way calculated to encourage discriminatory hiring practices and union-busting." It might have started the pernicious process leading to a national identification card policy. Worst of all, it would have legitimized an approach to immigration that has its roots in racism, agribusiness and xenophobia.

Inside dopesters in Washington say that Speaker Tip O'Neill forestalled action on the House version of the bill (a version had already passed the Senate) when he heard that Reagan planned to veto it. Since Simpson-Mazzoli was highly unpopular in Hispanic communities, the President would thus have won support in the ethnic constituency he is

courting most fervently—and the Democrats would have been correspondingly despised. Reagan, who had supported the bill from the beginning, denies he was planning a double cross, but the Democrats say they know better. Capitol Hill secrets have a way of becoming common knowledge.

What's most distasteful about the story is not the burial of a bill, which is welcome in this instance. It is that both the Democrats and the Administration will avoid action on immigration policy for at least another two years, and all the problems of illegal aliens, deportations, brutal harassment and arbitrary treatment of immigrants will continue to mount.

Broken Record

Theodore White emerges from retirement to write the first chapter of The Making of the Candidate 1983.

From fishing villages along the rock-strewn coast of Maine they came; from towns with tall-spired white churches and names like Penobscot and Passamaquoddy and Moose Breach; and from the crepuscular spruce forests of the northland, dotted with gunmetal-blue lakes. They came to Augusta to cast their ballots in the Democratic straw poll, these shrewd-eyed men and women of Down East stock. Inside the civic center, thousands of feet of cables snaked in ugly coils, while television crews trained hot white lights and microphones on the spectacle. Young reporters attired in new wardrobes from L.L. Bean roamed the hall, their eyes glazed with premature cynicism. Then the announcement was made: Maine's Democratic yeomanry had chosen Walter F. Mondale as front-runner for the nation's highest office for the month of October 1983. The curtain had risen on the great drama of a freeborn people choosing their mythic captain.

But the question on many lips in this small, crepuscular city was: Will it ever end? Will the prose of a great nation's press corps crack under the strain of a fifteen-month campaign? Will an elite of high-domed pundits trail off into burbling inanity?

Meanwhile, 2,353 miles away via old Route 1, hard-headed men and women of labor assembled in a pastel-stuccoed glass tower in Hollywood, Florida, for a meeting of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s powerful general board. The delegates had their orders and they performed with the rhythmic precision of a team on a Toyota assembly line. So it was that the 13,826,603 members of the largest free labor union in the West were pledged to the cause of Fritz Mondale. Back in Washington, the turtle-nosed visage of the man from Minnesota broke into a gratified grin when he heard the news. But in another part of Washington, the icy blue eyes of John Glenn glittered as they scanned a *New York Times*/CBS poll showing the rank and file split between him and Mondale. Was the house of labor divided against itself? *Time*—and *Newsweek* and *U.S. News* and all the others—would tell and tell and tell.

The following day in Washington six Democratic candidates spoke in turn before the convention of the National Organization for Women, and when they had finished, the Republic had been promised a half-dozen female vice presidential candidates. American sisterhood vowed it would meet the challenge and find a female counterpart of the great names that echo down the corridors of history—Garrett Hobart, Charles W. Fairbanks, Thomas Marshall, John Nance Garner. The women were mindful of the mantle of responsibility that had descended upon them. As one delegate put it in reverential tones: "This means that NOW is only a heartbeat away from the leadership of the free world."

Meanwhile, at a factory gate in Ames, Iowa, a lonely, shivering candidate waited for the morning shift to arrive. George McGovern was thinking that eight years ago, Jimmy Carter stood at this entrance . . .

(Here the manuscript breaks off. A spokesman for the author said he had decided to retire after all.)

RICHARD LINGEMAN

Grounding Unions

Earlier this year, District 100 of the International Machinists and Aerospace Workers Union refused to accept Eastern Airlines' offer of a wage freeze, and instead negotiated for and won wage increases. Now, Eastern is threatening to file for bankruptcy unless the workers give back those increases. Although the airline's cries of economic woe have been publicized in the media, the machinists, who know Eastern's financial situation inside out, give them little credence.

First, Eastern's gloom and doom scenario is based largely on a single losing month. It is true that in August, Eastern's revenues fell below what the company had projected. That was partly because fares have gone up, and all the airlines have lost some of their discount business. But passenger traffic is picking up as the economic recovery gains momentum.

On the basis of the low August figures, Eastern projected lower revenues for the next fifteen months, which leads one to ask: If the company could not predict what would happen in August, what makes it think it can predict what the next fifteen months will be like? And how can it expect its workers to take pay cuts because of a single bad month? In the past, Eastern has tried to win concessions from its unions by reporting bad news in the fall (when air travel traditionally declines), even if it expected the rest of the year to be highly profitable.

Second, many of Eastern's troubles result not from high labor costs but from management errors—primarily, buying too many airplanes and borrowing too much money. Over the past three years Eastern has bought twenty-seven new fuel-efficient Boeing 757s. That purchase may have made sense when jet fuel cost \$1.05 a gallon, but now it sells

for 87 cents and the savings realized from the planes won't come close to paying for them. (The discount airlines bought old fuel guzzlers on the cheap and are making money with them.)

Eastern spent \$1.45 billion on the new planes, most of it borrowed, and its interest payments for the first six months of this year were about \$220 million, 32 percent higher than they were during the same period last year. If Eastern had the low debt that Delta does, it would be making a profit. The company needs to renegotiate its debt and win concessions from its creditors, but Frank Borman, the former astronaut who heads Eastern, has lost his credibility on Wall Street and some industry analysts think he is on his way out.

Contrary to its public statements, Eastern's prospects are bright. On September 13, thirteen days before Eastern threatened bankruptcy, Merrill Lynch & Company recommended its stock to investors and predicted that the company would be profitable in 1984, earning \$2.70 a share. Merrill Lynch should know something about the company's finances; it is the leading underwriter of its stock offerings. Yet ten days after making its recommendation, the brokerage firm replaced its "O.K. to buy" signal with a neutral one.

Union members at Eastern and at other carriers realize that management has declared war on them. The opening shot in the battle was fired when Continental Airlines declared bankruptcy on September 24, abrogated its union contracts and applied for reorganization under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Act. It emerged lean and hungry, its work force reduced by two-thirds and its wages slashed by one-half. It is now trying to survive as a discount airline, despite a strike by some of its pilots and flight attendants.

Such a move was to be expected from Continental's president, Frank Lorenzo, a notoriously antiunion Texan who founded New York Air in 1980 as a nonunion discount operation paying wages that were half the industry average. Now he's trying the same strategy with Continental. If Lorenzo fails, there will be a sigh of relief among his competitors and among airline creditors, who regard the industry as overcrowded.

Deregulation has led to cutthroat competition and empty planes. Banks have become alarmed as their portfolios of airline stocks and bonds have dropped in value. Now that the government is out of the picture, the banks are bent on restructuring the industry and making the older companies competitive with the cut-rate upstarts.

The banks have also invested heavily in companies that supply the airlines with planes and parts, and they are using their muscle to force closer cooperation between companies in which they have an interest. For example, banks that lend to both Eastern and Boeing have encouraged Eastern to buy its planes only from Boeing.

The drive to lower labor costs is part of the restructuring process demanded by the bankers. Continental and Eastern are the first in what could become a unionbusting stampede. The unions had better fasten their seat belts, because there's a bumpy ride ahead.

ARTICLES.

■ THE CHRYSLER BAIL-OUT

A Preview of Industrial Policy

JANE SLAUGHTER

Unionists who are counting on "industrial policy" to save their industries and their jobs would be advised to examine how well the Chrysler bail-out has achieved its "public goals" and how it has affected the labor movement. The United Automobile Workers, which has come up with its own version of industrial policy (as have the machinists and the A.F.L.-C.I.O.), points with pride to the bail-out as an example of the cooperation between business, labor and government that is a key feature of most industrial policy proposals. "It's a success story worth proclaiming to the mountaintops," said the union newsletter, "Washington Report." In the same issue, Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca was nominated as "our latest candidate for folk hero."

Another view was expressed by Pete Kelly, president of U.A.W. Local 160 and a veteran leader of the union's militant faction: "If the U.A.W. saved 43,000 jobs at Chrysler, they were the most expensive 43,000 jobs the labor movement's ever bought." Just what was the price paid by labor? Let's briefly look at the terms of the bail-out agreement and at the \$1.1 billion worth of concessions the union made as its part of the bargain.

During contract negotiations in November 1979, U.A.W. representatives told Chrysler management that the union would accept \$203 million less than it received from Ford and General Motors. At that time Congress was discussing a \$1.5 billion bail-out plan for Chrysler, and the union expected it would be asked to make concessions. To the union's chagrin, Congress demanded an additional \$243 million in union cuts as the price for passing the Chrysler Corp. Loan Guarantee Act. The U.A.W. agreed: the concessions were necessary to get the loan guarantees, and the loan guarantees were necessary to insure Chrysler's survival. In December 1979, the bill was passed; one year later, Chrysler went back to the government for a third installment of loan guarantees. This time the U.A.W. agreed to \$622 million worth of pay and benefit cuts, including a pay cut of \$1.15 an hour; those concessions left Chrysler workers earning \$3 less an hour than their counterparts at G.M. and Ford.

To justify spending public money to aid a private corporation, the bill's proponents argued that it would serve "public purposes." The cost of a Chrysler shutdown, they

said, in terms of unemployment and welfare benefits, would be much greater than the cost of the loan guarantees. Former U.A.W. president Douglas Fraser was fond of saying that the bill was not a corporate bail-out bill but a jobs bill. It was also argued that a Chrysler bankruptcy would be devastating to blacks and to the city of Detroit. In 1979, blacks made up 28.6 percent of Chrysler's U.S. blue-collar work force. And twenty-two of its thirty-nine plants were located in the metropolitan Detroit area. But the bail-out was intended to enable Chrysler to "down-size"—to restructure itself and make itself more efficient so that it could compete in the changing auto market. Given that rationale, it was inevitable that Chrysler would close its oldest plants first. Most of those were in Detroit, where most of the company's black employees lived and worked.

At the end of 1979, 22,674 blacks worked for Chrysler in the United States (this was down from a peak of 35,868 in 1977). By the end of 1982, black employment at the company had fallen to 14,046—a decline of 38 percent in three years.

In 1980 Chrysler received a \$150 million loan from the State of Michigan. How did the company repay its benefactor? Twenty Chrysler plants in the United States have been closed. Sixteen of those were in the Detroit area; four were in other states. That left the corporation with ten plants in Detroit and fourteen elsewhere, reversing the pre-bail-out proportion. In 1977, 57.5 percent of Chrysler's workers lived in the Detroit area. By June 1983, 50.9 percent did.

Thus the bail-out was not a smashing success at saving jobs: total employment at the company is now less than half what it was at its peak, in 1977, and only about two-thirds what it was before the loan guarantees. It was, of course, a smashing success at saving the *company*, as Chrysler's much-trumpeted profit figures show. Chrysler made a record \$482 million in the first half of this year, and analysts predict it will make more than \$1 billion in 1984.

It can be argued that the 43,000 jobs saved by the bail-out are better than none, and that most of those 43,000 U.A.W. members are better off today than they would have been if Chrysler had folded. But there is another dimension to the bail-out, and that is the precedent the U.A.W. concessions set for the labor movement. As an official of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, which was hit with a tidal wave of concession demands in 1981, told me, "After Chrysler, everything changed."

Employers have faced hard times before without demanding concessions from their unions. In the 1974-75 recession, for example, when unemployment was at its highest in thirty years and many companies were losing money hand over fist, employers didn't ask for them. They didn't think the unions would let them get away with it. Before the Chrysler bail-out, union resistance to employer demands for give-backs was determined and often successful. The United Mine Workers struck for 110 days from December 1977 to March 1978 and succeeded in resisting some of the coal operators' far-reaching demands. In 1978 employees at

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three companies working under "me-too" versions of the Basic Steel Agreement struck for five, six and nine months, respectively, rather than make concessions on work rules. In 1979 the U.A.W. struck Caterpillar for eleven weeks and International Harvester for twenty-four weeks, and a coalition of unions struck Westinghouse for seven weeks. As a result of all these strikes, management withdrew its demands for give-backs.

The Chrysler agreement changed the meaning of the term "reopener," which used to refer to a clause giving unions the right to ask for more during the term of a contract. The change came about in 1980. In January of that year, Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young remarked, "We are closely examining the recent Chrysler contract, because it contains a principle which I believe we may be forced to adopt." Detroit city workers agreed to a two-year wage freeze later that year. In May, Ford exacted work-rule concessions from employees at its Cleveland stamping plant by threatening to shut it down if they refused. The Rubber Workers Union made \$27 million worth of concessions in the contract it negotiated with Uniroyal in June, breaking with the industrywide contract. In August, 12,000 workers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel agreed to defer some raises, and Wheeling-Pittsburgh withdrew from the nine-company Basic Steel Agreement. In September, the teamsters' union rejected Trucking Management Inc.'s demand that it do without 49 cents of its cost of living allowance, but agreed to consider local or regional changes in the National Master Freight Agreement.

The U.A.W.'s third set of concessions to Chrysler, negotiated in January 1981, turned the snowball into an avalanche. The union had said all along that the agreement with Chrysler was an exception, "not a product of free collective bargaining." But the exception quickly became the rule as General Motors, which made three-quarters of a billion dollars on its U.S. operations in 1981, also demanded, and received, concessions. Other economic sectors in which companies have won concessions from their unions include the airlines, agricultural implements, aluminum, coal, construction, copper, glass, meatpacking, oil refining, rubber, steel and trucking. Profitable companies such as Kroger, Iowa Beef, Gulf, Texaco, United Parcel Service and Caterpillar have not been bashful about asking for give-backs. In a June 1982 *Business Week* poll, 19 percent of executives from large companies admitted that "although we don't need concessions, we are taking advantage of the bargaining climate to ask for them."

How could the U.A.W. have acted differently? It could have told Congress and Chrysler, Hell, no. It could have taken a stand not just for its members at Chrysler but for the rest of its membership and for the rest of the labor movement. It could have argued its case to its members and to leaders of other unions, and pushed the labor movement to take a united position against concessions, as the Canadian Labor Congress did in May 1982. That might not have discouraged other employers from demanding them. Somewhere, some union would have given in—if not the auto

workers, the teamsters; if not the teamsters, the steelworkers. But, because of the U.A.W.'s historic role in the labor movement, a stand (or a capitulation) by it means more than a similar move by any other union. The U.A.W. had long been a pioneer in bargaining—it was the first major union to win a cost of living allowance, for example. But by 1982, it was leading in the wrong direction.

It was not simply the U.A.W.'s agreement to concessions but the attitude it took in negotiations that emboldened employers. Bob Weissman, president of U.A.W. Local 122 at Chrysler's Twinsburg, Ohio, stamping plant and a frequent critic of the International's policies, says, "From the union's point of view, concessions were logical and unavoidable. But the way in which they were given was totally inappropriate." The union, Weissman says, should have insisted that its contract with Chrysler be restored to parity with the U.A.W. contracts at Ford and G.M. by a certain date, while retaining the option of granting the company an extension if it was still in hot water. "If we had done that, we wouldn't have had to push the company to reopen the contract this summer; the company would have been begging us," Weissman says.

But the union didn't even put such a proposal on the bargaining table. Union insiders say that some members of the negotiating committee raised the possibility of doing so with Fraser in January 1980. According to the sources, Fraser blew up at the suggestion and told the negotiators they were being unrealistic.

Was the concessions plan worth it? Weissman says, "In the form in which it was done, no. It led to the loss of half of the Chrysler jobs and the punishment of the remaining workers through excessive concessions. And it opened a trend in the labor movement that has proven nothing short of disastrous."

The labor movement's first experiment with "industrial policy" left it in a weakened condition. Whether union leaders know it or not, the tripartism that was a key part of the Chrysler bail-out was *designed* to do just that. Winning concessions is only the most obvious part of employers' long-term strategy for shifting the balance of power permanently in their favor. If labor's best response to that

NEXT WEEK

VICTOR S. NAVASKY REVIEWS
*THE ROSENBERG FILE:
A SEARCH FOR THE TRUTH*
By Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton

ALSO:

Joseph A. Blum on the Phelps
Dodge Copper Workers' Strike

William M. Kunstler on Anonymous Juries
Comments on *Beyond the Waste Land*

strategy is to agree to be the junior member of an employer-run "partnership," prospects for saving companies without sacrificing jobs or union leverage are slim indeed. □

■ MCCARTHYISM IN CONGRESS

Honorable Members?

TED WEISS

Conservatives squeezed the last possible drop of anti-Soviet sentiment from the downing of K.A.L. Flight 007 last month. The President exploited the tragedy to rally support for higher defense appropriations, construction of the MX missile and deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe this December. And the Administration's harsh anti-Soviet rhetoric can be expected to encourage right-wing Republicans to make "softness on communism" a major issue in the 1984 elections. Indeed, on several prior occasions, my conservative colleagues in the 98th Congress have questioned the loyalty of their Democratic adversaries.

Most recently, for example, the National Republican Congressional Committee accused twenty Democrats of "supporting communism" because they had opposed a Republican-sponsored amendment to the International Monetary Fund authorization bill, which the House passed on August 3. The amendment, introduced by Republican Phil Gramm of Texas, would prohibit the United States from voting for I.M.F. loans to nations with "communist dictatorships." Democrat Tony Coelho, chairman of the House Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, criticized the N.R.C.C.'s attack as "a resurrection of McCarthyism."

Reminders of McCarthyism also surfaced in July when the House debated the Boland-Zablocki amendment to the Intelligence Authorization Act of 1983. This amendment, later passed by the House, halts U.S. support for the anti-Sandinist forces waging war against Nicaragua and provides aid to El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica to help stop the flow of arms to Salvadoran insurgents. It generated some sixteen hours of debate in the House, and as the hours wore on, Republican opponents of the Democratic initiative realized that its supporters were well organized and gaining strength. Several Republicans then resorted to Red-baiting in a last-ditch effort to persuade undecided representatives to oppose the measure.

The attacks on the President's critics were better suited to the smoke-filled halls of an American Legion convention than the floor of the House. The rhetoric was unworthy of my Republican colleagues, who usually pepper their adversaries with highbrow wit and invective. Early in the debate, however, it appeared that a few Republicans had no inten-

tion of obeying the House's unwritten rules of decorum and fairness when the issue was fighting the spread of communism in Central America. Bill Young of Florida, for example, assured the House of his patriotism and suggested that his Democratic opponents did not share his loyalties:

I came here first and foremost swearing my allegiance to the United States and to what is in the best interests of my country, not some other country I want to help, but my first allegiance is to the United States.

But Young's comments were mild compared with those made by other defenders of covert aid to the Nicaraguan insurgents.

At one point in the debate, Tom Downey, a New York Democrat, characterized the anti-Sandinist rebels funded by the United States as "thugs, thieves and brigands." Angered by that description of our newfound allies, Republican Newt Gingrich of Georgia replied with a volley of charges that impugned the motives of those opposed to the President's covert war. Among other things, Gingrich said:

This is a vote on whether or not we are going to cripple the forces of freedom. This is a vote on whether we are going to help the Soviet Union and the Cubans and the 9,000 Communist bloc advisers who are now in Nicaragua.

Gingrich then made a more serious attack. He said that Downey "articulated brilliantly the radical doctrine of his wing of his party," and charged that those in favor of the measure believe the "CIA is more dangerous than the KGB."

Similar attacks erupted during previous debates on the Boland-Zablocki amendment. In early June, when the House Foreign Affairs Committee was considering the measure, Republican Gerald Solomon of New York charged that those members of the committee who supported the amendment were selling the United States down the river to the Soviet Union. Just before the House debate on the amendment in July, Representative Young asked why those Democrats who spoke so loudly against the President's maneuvers in Central America had been silent a year ago when the Soviet Union and Cuba held military exercises in the region.

Allegations like those, which question not only the soundness of members' views but their motives as well, go beyond the traditional bounds of parliamentary civility in the House. David Obey of Wisconsin said that Young and other conservative Republicans were attempting to "assassinate the character of the person making the statement rather than to effectively assassinate the argument."

In the Reagan years, McCarthy-like charges—such as the State Department's assaults on human rights organizations and Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton's allegations about women's peace groups—seem to be occurring with greater frequency and vehemence. But as this country searches for solutions to the conflicts in Latin America and the Middle East, what is sorely needed is rationality and vision, not chauvinistic breast-beating. As Obey said during the debate on the Boland-Zablocki amendment, both Democrats and Republicans are talking about "not whether we defend this country, but how." □

Ted Weiss is a Democratic/Liberal Party Congressman from New York City.

■ . . . AND IN BRITAIN

The Case of the Leyland Moles

PETER CHAPMAN

London

Last August 11, British Leyland, the huge but ailing nationalized auto company, sacked thirteen workers. Normally that would not have been news: B.L. has let go 25,000 employees in the last three years. The Leyland Thirteen, however, have drawn attention because they are political activists, members or supporters of a small Trotskyist organization called the Socialist League.

"Marxist Moles!" screamed one headline. "Car giant foils the red wreckers—plot to seize union control at BL plant," cried a popular tabloid. Because of her radical politics and her orange-dyed hair worn punk style, one of the discharged workers, Stephanie Grant, was dubbed "Red Steph."

British Leyland denies that it fired the thirteen because of their political views. It says they were discharged because they gave false information on their applications—a perfectly legitimate reason to fire someone. That they all are associated with the same left-wing group was merely coincidental, the company claims.

Last year, when the seven men and six women applied for jobs at B.L.'s plant in Cowley, near Oxford, they gave phony references and lied about their education. For example, one woman with a degree in political science put down that she had never attended college.

If she had told the truth, she would not have got the job. Like her comrades, she is overqualified to work on an assembly line. "It is not surprising that in their desperation to find work, people give false information," said a trade union official, noting that Britain's unemployment rate is about 13 percent and that more than 3 million people are out of work. Moreover, unemployment among well-educated white-collar workers is quite high, and the Leyland Thirteen could have been glad to get even unskilled jobs. Stephanie Grant pointed out that an assembly-line worker at B.L. makes about £120 (\$180) a week—not a fortune, but good money for an unskilled worker.

But the press and B.L. didn't buy the theory that the radicals were trying to make an honest buck. Conservative newspapers trumpeted what the company merely implied: the thirteen had joined B.L. with the intention of disrupting production. Much was made of the fact that they were active in the union local, though there was no evidence they had participated in any industrial disruptions. Not that they had lacked opportunities: B.L. was recently hit by a bitter dispute over how much wash-up time workers are entitled

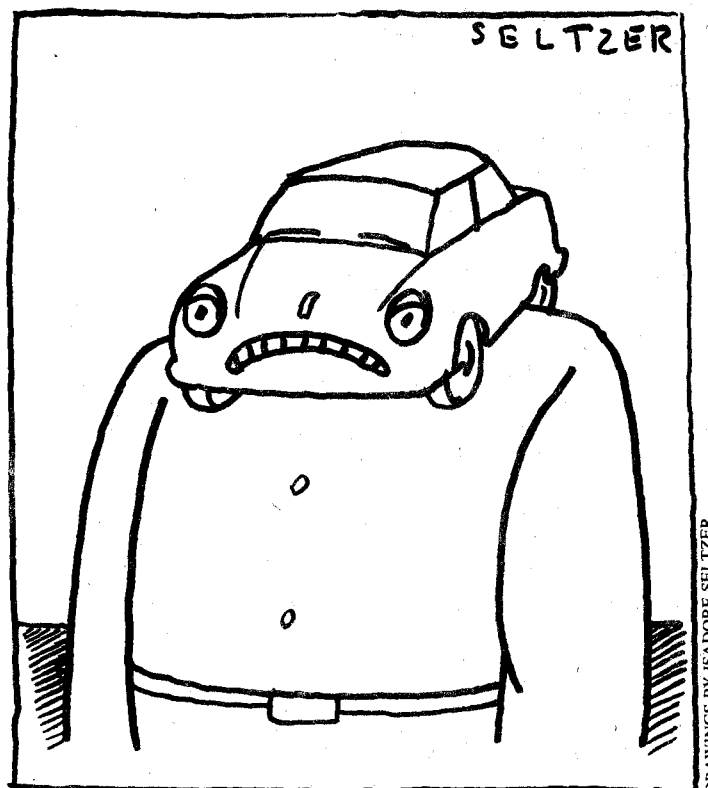
to. Nonetheless, the British auto industry's annual round of pay bargaining, traditionally a time of worker unrest, begins this month, and it seems likely that B.L. didn't want radical activists in its work force.

According to one press report, the Trotskyists were denounced to management by their fellow workers, who were angered by their bragging about how they had lied their way into their jobs. Another paper said that their intelligence had aroused suspicion. "You should have heard them argue points of union law and economics," one B.L. worker told the *London Times*.

Could it be that the secret agents of Britain's fringe left were betrayed by what might be called a Che Guevara complex—a romantic vision of leading the toiling masses to victory, whether the masses like it or not? The Socialist League, formerly the International Marxist Group, can hardly claim to be in touch with Britain's working class. Formed last December, the league has fewer than 700 members, and only a third of them work at manual trades.

Certainly the thirteen have received only token support from their union at B.L., the Transport and General Workers Union. Its leadership, which is drawn mainly from the Labor and Communist Parties, has little sympathy for what it calls the "loony left." In this time of recession, when workers keep their heads down and their hands on whatever jobs they can find, there has been little enthusiasm among the rank and file at B.L. for a strike to protest the firings.

British management can't help but regard the ouster of the "moles" as a victory in its ongoing battle against the unions. The flap came just as the Thatcher government was about to introduce legislation aimed at curbing the power of



Peter Chapman is a British freelance writer.

trade unions. According to reliable reports in the press, the Prime Minister also plans to call for tighter security checks on applicants for civil service jobs, including investigations into their political beliefs.

The number of leftists, including members of the Socialist League, working in certain departments of the civil service is said to have increased in recent years. Several Cabinet members have publicly blamed leftist civil service workers for recent embarrassing leaks of confidential documents. For instance, just before the June general elections, information was leaked suggesting that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher planned to abolish the National Health Service.

Back at B.L., more mole hunts may be in the offing. "At least another six moles could still be lying low at the Cowley plant," warned the *Standard*. But help may be on the way. Rupert Murdoch's *Sun*, a hugely successful tabloid of the "breasts and bums" school of journalism, recently published a guide to rooting out moles entitled "How I Can Spot Wreckers." According to the *Sun*, moles can be detected by the following telltale behavior: they are "pro-IRA and anti-America," wear badges supporting rebels in El Salvador and read only serious newspapers (not the *Sun*) that feature in-depth articles on the war in Nicaragua. They also do not watch popular TV programs, tell sexist jokes, "chase factory girls, or eye up the lads."

In this sad old land of Orwell, it seems, there is no place for moles on Maggie and Rupert's animal farm. □

■ LETTER FROM PARIS

Liberté Oui, Egalité Non

AMY WILENTZ

Paris

Last month, when the thunderous Parisian rains alternated with bright sunshine, the streets of this city were plastered with posters advertising an exhibition of French coins. The posters depicted a glittering gold piece as if it were a work of art.

It will take considerable artistry to keep the coin of this realm sound—much more and of a more delicate sort than the government displayed in drawing up its 1984 budget.

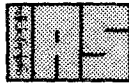
The announcement of the new budget, on September 14, came at an awkward time for François Mitterrand. His Socialist Party had just been rebuffed in yet another municipal election, this one in Dreux, a town of 16,000 voters located in the center of France, an area most Parisians call "la France profonde." The opposition coalition, consisting of the usual dramatis personae (the Gaullist-Chiracquiens and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's Union for French Democracy) as well as an old force but a new part of the coalition, the National Front, received more than 55 percent of the vote.

It is the National Front that has the Socialists worried, or so they say. Founded in October 1972 by Jean-Marie Le Pen, the front is a successor to a movement that was ominously called the New Order, one of the most militant factions of the extreme right in the 1960s. Le Pen, whose party took an astonishing 17 percent of the first-round vote in Dreux (more than the final difference between the government and the opposition), is now busy trying to present the front as France's "modern right." But on the surface, at least, Le Pen and his party appear to be traditional, if not Pétainist, as his detractors have asserted.

"We must," says Le Pen, "give France back to the French." He frequently refers to a report issued by the government just before the election that put the number of immigrants in France at approximately 6 million, a figure that is viewed with alarm in National Front rhetoric. "If we do not react today," Le Pen continues, "France will become Arab. . . . We must refuse to give immigrants the same social advantages accorded to the French." When his party is accused of racism, he responds: "It is not political theory that creates racism; it is the facts. When a surgeon tries to cure an illness, there are always risks."

This is indeed inflammatory talk. But the government's attempt to blame its loss at Dreux on the rise of the National Front has been excessive—as though the Democratic Party had attributed its 1980 defeat to Jerry Falwell. While there is a grain of truth in the analysis, it is not the complete ex-

Amy Wilentz is an assistant editor at Newsday.



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planation. Like voters in most developed countries, the people of Dreux voted their pocketbooks, and the National Front's racism simply touched a nerve in a nation whose standard of living is declining at a rapid rate.

That rate will be hastened by the 1984 budget. The government is frightened about the nation's financial future. Why else would Mitterrand choose to impose new taxes that hit the "cadres," the white-collar workers who provided him with a good measure of his electoral strength in 1981, especially hard? The most grating of the new taxes announced in the budget is a so-called "progressive surtax," a flat 5 percent hike in the tax bills of those who pay between 20,000 and 30,000 francs in income tax (between \$2,500 and \$3,750). While the 1983 surtax applies only to payments over 28,000 francs, next year's will be computed on total taxes. For example, a taxpayer who owes 29,000 francs this year pays a surtax on only 1,000 francs. In 1984, the surtax will be calculated on the full 29,000 francs.

This was regarded as a slap in the face by even the most dedicated Socialists, and the right-wing press made the most of the government's fiscal dilemma: "1984 Budget—The Bottom of the Drawer," one headline said. Coming hard on the heels of the government's 1983 2,000-franc limit on funds that can be taken out of the country, the new tax seemed to many a further encroachment on individual economic liberty. "With my rent, the new sofa and the new baby," said one young dental surgeon, a Socialist, "I don't know how we're going to make it next year."

"To begin with," said a professor at Nanterre University, also a Socialist, "the Socialists did many stupid things. In the first year, they spent far too much money. They ought instead to have instituted an immediate austerity policy. But they were sure that the so-called economic crisis was the fault of poor management on the part of Giscard. They were convinced that the economic crisis did not exist. In fact, it still exists; the Socialists have exacerbated it, and now we are paying the price."

The new budget also includes a more than 15 percent increase in appropriations for industrial-scientific research, intended no doubt to placate angry taxpayers and arouse patriotic pride. It has succeeded in doing neither. The increase was announced as Mitterrand celebrated the beginning of construction on a large electron-positron collider, a "superaccelerator" to be housed in a tunnel that will extend from Geneva into the depths of the French Alps. French environmentalists are already up in arms, and few people are pleased to see the state's money going to a project that will not bear fruit until the year 2000, if at all.

Meanwhile, above all the commotion about Dreux and the new budget, the voice of Jacques Chirac, the Mayor of Paris and the head of the opposition coalition, sounds like a bell clearly tolling the future. After the election, he noted "the growing sentiment among all voters, including those who traditionally form the constituency of the left, not only of rejection of the government's policies but also of exasperation with the daily sectarian conduct of the Socialists

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and Communists, who, locked into their own ideology . . . are risking the destruction of national unity." Though couched in right-wing rhetoric, Chirac's point is well taken. It was a "national unity" of sorts that elected François Mitterrand, causing Parisians—with uncharacteristic extravagance—to take to the streets with champagne and roses, and it will be the destruction of that left and center unity, aided and abetted both by the rhetoric of Chirac and Le Pen and by the conflicting currents of the government's economic agenda, that will lead to Mitterrand's downfall.

That will leave the door to the presidency wide open to Chirac, who, albeit more subtly than Le Pen, has for years made it a practice to allude to "the immigration problem" when speaking of the nation's economic ills. To win, however, Chirac will have to attract in greater numbers than he did in 1981 the votes of those he believes are disaffected with the government's behavior: the cadres. Yes, his accession would mean a strengthening of the austerity measures already being set in motion by Mitterrand. But under Chirac, the burden of that austerity would fall most heavily not on the cadres but on those 6 million immigrants, whose existence here is already precarious. □

■ BEHIND RADIO MARTÍ

Anti-Castro PAC In Washington

LUCETTE LAGNADO

The Cuban-American community, for years an affluent and politically active force in Miami, is now attempting to win friends and influence politicians at the national level. Its vehicle for doing so is a political action committee called the National Coalition for a Free Cuba (N.C.F.C.). Formed a little more than a year ago, the PAC has been spreading the anti-Castro word on Capitol Hill.

During its first year of operation, the coalition wisely focused on a single objective: passage of the Administration-backed bill to create Radio Martí, a station which will be devoted to beaming anti-Castro propaganda to Cuba. Radio Martí was opposed by many senators, most notably Democrat Edward Zorinsky of Nebraska, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Zorinsky spoke for many of them when he accused the Administration of planning to wage propaganda warfare against Castro and said that the station would be another irritant in the already strained relationship between Cuba and the United States. (The National Association of Broadcasters also opposed the station, fearing that Castro would retaliate by jamming U.S. stations on the same frequency as Radio Martí.)

N.C.F.C. lobbyists buttonholed scores of legislators across the political spectrum, and the coalition donated

nearly \$50,000 to the campaign funds of "friendly" members of Congress in the 1982 elections. It also aided opponents of incumbents it regards as "pro-Castro."

The coalition cultivated White House support by contributing generously to Republican causes. According to Federal Election Commission records, members of the group's board of directors gave thousands of dollars to the Republican National Committee, the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) and other Republican groups. Some individual contributions were as high as \$10,000. For example, Jorge Mas, one of the better known of the coalition's lobbyists and a member of its board of directors, gave \$10,000 to the Republican National Committee last year and another \$10,000 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee. He also contributed \$2,000 to the 1982 Republican Senate-House Dinner and \$1,000 to NCPAC.

F.E.C. files show that families of board members also made substantial donations. Mas's wife, Irma, for instance, contributed \$1,000 to the campaign of Florida Democrat Dante Fascell.

Thus far, the coalition's record has not been one of unalloyed success, but its influence has been felt. Last month, the Senate approved a compromise version of the Radio Martí bill, placing the station under the wing of the Voice of America rather than allowing it to function as an independent entity, as the Administration bill had called for. The House followed suit on September 29. The station will beam fourteen hours of programming to Cuba daily. Since the V.O.A. currently transmits seven hours of Spanish-language broadcasts to all of Latin America, Radio Martí supporters may claim half a loaf. The Senate authorized \$14 million to fund the station for the first year.

Sources on Capitol Hill credit the National Coalition's lobbying effort with preventing the defeat of Radio Martí. "Without the Cuban PAC," one source said, "there would have been none of this," meaning that Congress would have scrapped the idea of propaganda broadcasts aimed at Cuba.

What success the PAC has had may be attributed to its ability to enlist influential members of Congress in its cause. One of its most important allies on the Hill is Representative Fascell, who has a large Cuban-American constituency. Fascell, a liberal on most issues, led the fight for Radio Martí in the House. According to F.E.C. records, he received more than \$9,000 in campaign contributions from the coalition, and thousands more from individual PAC members.

Fascell appears to have brought several other liberal representatives into the fold. Maryland Democrat Michael Barnes, for example, who was reportedly "troubled" about Radio Martí at first, changed his mind, at least in part because Fascell favors it. Barnes, chairman of the House Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee, has been an outspoken critic of the Administration's Central America policies, which are based on the belief that Cuba and the Soviet Union are the main sources of revolution in the region.

The coalition also won some converts in the Senate,

Lucette Lagnado is a reporter for columnist Jack Anderson.

including Howard Metzenbaum and Christopher Dodd, both textbook liberals and both opponents of the Administration's cold war crusade in Central America. Metzenbaum's zeal on behalf of Radio Martí astonished many of his fellow senators. He signed a number of "Dear Colleague" letters urging support for the Administration bill, and made speeches on the floor in favor of the measure as well.

F.E.C. records show that the coalition gave \$2,000 to Metzenbaum's re-election campaign. Moreover, Carlos Benitez, chairman of the N.C.F.C.'s board of directors, gave \$1,000, as did five other board members.

Compared with the total amount of contributions Metzenbaum received for his 1982 campaign—\$3.5 million—this is minuscule. It is also insignificant compared with the \$400,000 he received from other PACs. A spokesman for Metzenbaum strongly denied that there was any connection between the Senator's position on Radio Martí and the money he received from the N.C.F.C. "The Senator is pretty much his own man," he said, adding that Metzenbaum supported Radio Martí because he felt that "the Voice of America is not adequate to get messages into Cuba."

Nonetheless, Metzenbaum was intensively lobbied by the N.C.F.C. According to Benitez, he and others in the group met with the Senator on a number of occasions and "told him what we wanted from him." What did they want? Support for Radio Martí, Benitez said.

Another key Democrat the coalition claims to have influenced is Christopher Dodd. Whether or not that is so, Dodd did make a sudden volte-face on Radio Martí. A year ago he bitterly opposed it, calling the Administration's plan "baloney." According to a Senate source who followed the Radio Martí debate, Dodd's change of heart stemmed from the criticism he received for his April 27 televised speech blasting President Reagan's address on Central America. Dodd's reply to the President drew criticism from both Democrats and Republicans as not being tough enough on the Castro "threat" in the region.

"If you're too out-front on too many issues," the source explained, "you run a risk of being labeled a leftist or a communist sympathizer." Backing Radio Martí was an easy way for Dodd to demonstrate that he is as anti-Castro as the next person.

The coalition also targeted "unfriendly" legislators who were up for re-election last year. Its bête noire was Senator Lowell Weicker, the liberal Republican from Connecticut, who has gone scuba diving with Castro. The coalition gave money to Weicker's opponent in the Republican primary, Prescott Bush Jr., and also to his Conservative rival in the general election, Lucien DiFazio. Weicker, of course, won despite these efforts.

The coalition's heavy-handed tactics have been counterproductive with some legislators. Representative Mickey Leland, a Texas Democrat, told me that coalition board member Mas had complained to him about his opposition to Radio Martí. Leland alleged that Mas had "threatened" and insulted him and called him "ignorant."

Despite its failure with Leland and others, the National Coalition for a Free Cuba has proved itself an energetic

and well-heeled advocate of the anti-Castro cause in Washington. Having won at least a partial victory on Radio Martí, the N.C.F.C. can now turn to transmitting the views of conservative Cuban-Americans on other issues to Congress and the President. □

■ REVEREND WILDMON'S CRUSADE

When the Right Talks, TV Listens

Todd Gitlin's new book explores, as he puts it, "power, politics, and the nature of the decision-making process governing prime-time network television." This excerpt describes the efforts of the Rev. Donald Wildmon and his dedicated followers to clean up TV—and how the networks responded to the challenge.

—The Editors

TODD GITLIN

Prominent figures on the fundamentalist right had for years expressed dismay about network television's "permissiveness," its display of flesh and its extramarital innuendo, but the crusade gathered momentum and publicity with the election of Ronald Reagan. Much of the press held the Moral Majority and other New Right groups responsible for a good part of Reagan's landslide, and the New Right "social issue" groups—antiabortion, antifeminist and pro-prayer—went on the offensive. The fundamentalist right could already speak directly to national television audiences through its satellite-relayed gospel shows. In network television, however, it recognized a national target of opportunity. The assemblage of groups that Hollywood writer Larry Gelbart calls "the far righteous" had a keen sense of how to play the press, and eventually got a huge boost from panicky advertisers. When the dust cleared, the networks, which sensed no significant audience counterpressure, had retreated from their high point of sexual titillation, indeed from controversy in general.

The pivotal figure in this successful surge was the Rev. Donald Wildmon, a Methodist minister straight out of a bicoastal network executive's grim dream of a benighted Middle America. In his early 40s, Wildmon had for several years operated the National Federation for Decency from a tiny office in his hometown of Tupelo, Mississippi. It was as if the respectable citizens of Tupelo were finally going to get revenge on their native-born pelvis, Elvis Presley, and the whole dirty culture that had invaded their households and corrupted their children. With little staff or money, Wildmon started mobilizing fundamentalist church groups to

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generate thousands of letters protesting "unwholesome" TV shows.

In 1977, when ABC scheduled *Soap*, a sendup of sexually indulgent soap operas, it got 32,000 letters of protest, many of them from Wildmon's followers. When ABC announced in 1980 that it was making a TV movie from Marilyn French's feminist novel *The Women's Room*, Wildmon denounced it, sight unseen, as antifamily, and letters flooded in again.* Wildmon wasn't interested in the ways the movie simplified the book, imposing an uplifting individualist ending in which the heroine harangues a rapt Harvard audience about women's freedom of choice. His campaign was sufficiently potent, though, to intimidate advertisers. According to ABC's Brandon Stoddard, the network lost ten out of fourteen minutes of *Women's Room* spot ads before the air date. The companies that withdrew their ads arguably made a bad business decision, since the show drew a splendid 28.2 Nielsen rating and a 45 share, but advertisers are generally nervous about being associated with controversy. Replacement ads came in at the last minute, but at cut rates. There were only a few letters of protest after the broadcast, but Stoddard claims that ABC lost "a lot of money" on a high-rated show.

After Wildmon hooked up with the Rev. Jerry Falwell and the right swept the 1980 elections, the press anointed him as newsworthy. Reporters saw Falwell as a kingmaker, and threats to the power of the media are customarily good fodder for headlines. Wildmon was able to attract Falwell and other New Right leaders to the founding meeting of the Coalition for Better Television (C.B.T.V.) in February 1981, just after the Reagan inauguration. The vehemently right-wing Senator Jeremiah Denton of Alabama, who had joined Wildmon in an earlier crusade against network television permissiveness, told the gathering he was ready to die in this crusade to clean up television. C.B.T.V.'s executive committee included Wildmon, Falwell deputy Ronald Godwin and prominent antifeminist Phyllis Schlafly. Falwell and Wildmon announced that monitoring groups would scrutinize the networks' prime-time schedules for "obscurity" (broken down into "skin scenes," "sexual innuendo" and "implied sexual intercourse"), "profanity" and "violence." By the end of June, they said, they would single out a sponsor whose commercials appeared in programs the monitors found most offensive, and then organize a boycott against that company.

With Falwell's drawing power, the founding of the coalition and the threat of a boycott were instantly big news. For months reporters uncritically relayed Wildmon's claim that the coalition included 200 groups—later boosted to 300, then to 401. Many were local letterhead organizations, but it was not until June that a CBS correspondent reported that, of a sample of sixty organizations and individuals whom Wildmon counted in C.B.T.V., about 30 percent denied membership. When I asked Wildmon about this, he said

that he had signed cards from all 401 in his possession, and that he would not have given CBS a misleading list. "I may be from Mississippi but I'm not stupid," he said. Having been burned, however, he refused to give out any more totals, let alone names.

Nor did the press get very far in probing the C.B.T.V. monitoring process, at least not until Hodding Carter Jr.'s PBS series, *Inside Story*, ran a piece in the fall of 1981 in which some of the monitors were interviewed. Evidently the process had been designed by Wildmon himself. During one survey, he had been so incensed by a four-letter word uttered by *Saturday Night Live*'s Charles Rocket that he had threatened to double the "offensiveness ratings" of all NBC shows—not exactly sound survey technique, even as a warning. For months, Wildmon successfully stonewalled on the identities of his alleged 4,000 monitors, and on their training and representativeness as well. Television news shows played along, seeming to substantiate Wildmon's scientific aura with shots of computer printout machines chugging away at C.B.T.V. headquarters.

In virtual chorus, top network executives brandished their First Amendment rights. "We will not change or remove any of our programs," declared CBS senior vice president Gene Mater. "Although TV is today's target, movies, books, magazines and newspapers will not be far behind." At the May 1981 CBS affiliates meeting, Thomas Wyman, president of CBS Inc., called the Moral Majority—C.B.T.V.'s largest constituent group—"a constitutionally immoral minority" which threatened "to disenfranchise the real majority of viewers from making their own decisions about what to watch." The Moral Majority and C.B.T.V., he said, "strike at the heart of the American ideal of a free marketplace. We must make it clear that what is at stake is not the propriety of the networks but the freedom of the airwaves."

Needless to say, the networks' idea of "freedom of the airwaves" is their own freedom to decide what shows "the real majority of viewers" will get to choose among. But that freedom is far from absolute, and advertisers in the aggregate most pointedly possess a sort of veto power. The major advertisers, in effect, set the outer limits of what is permissible to show on television. "We have two markets," NBC research vice president Gerald M. Jaffe said. "With a movie, there's one audience; whether people like it or not, they've still paid for the ticket. But with TV there are two audiences: advertisers and people at home. With one audience, you could get very high ratings with frontal nudity, penetration, torture and people being cut up with chain saws. But Congress would shriek, and so would advertisers. It would make a hard sell for Hamburger Helper."

That the major advertisers retain veto power over programming is important, but no less important is the fact that advertiser power ordinarily comes into play only after the networks have made the essential decisions. The networks in turn vaguely take into account whether they think the major advertisers in the aggregate (the qualification is important, as we shall see in a moment) are going to consider a show a hospitable setting for their commercials. I asked many net-

* To assuage criticism, ABC's Standards and Practices department inserted an opening disclaimer, telling viewers that the story—with its uniformly insensitive men and victimized, if eventually triumphant, women—belonged to an earlier and presumably outlived time.

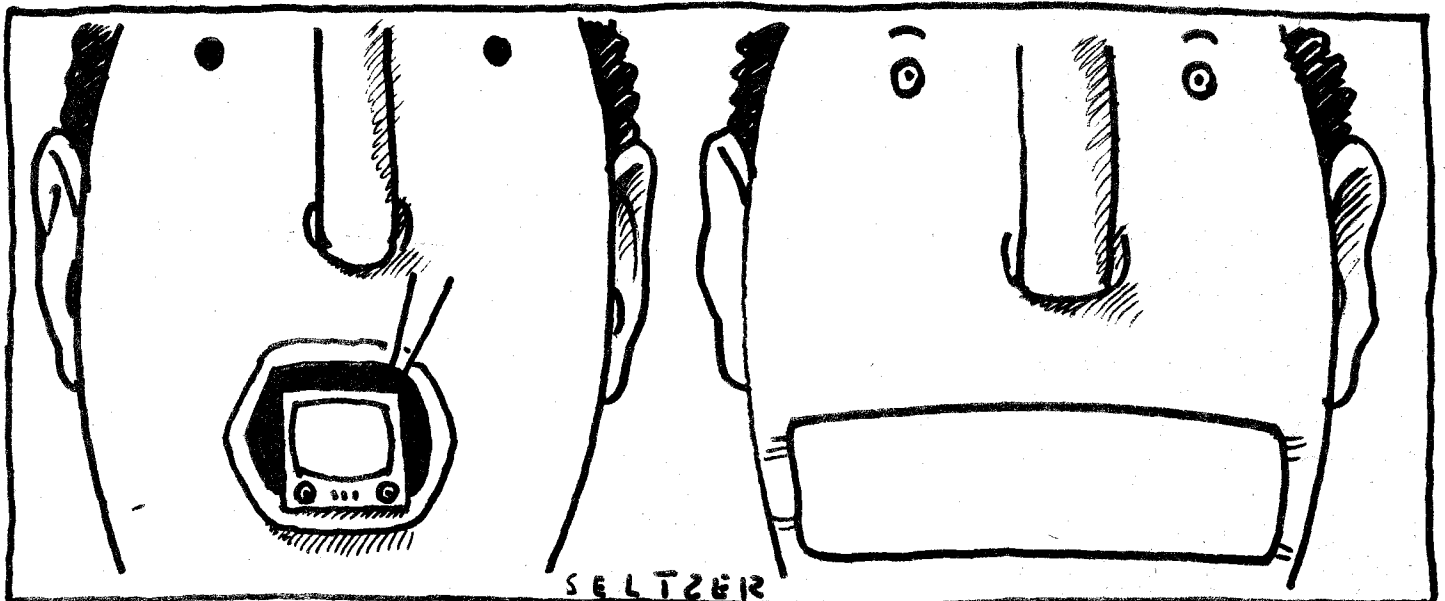
work programming executives whether they took advertiser attitudes into account in deciding whether to put a show on the air. Most said no, pointing out that network television is a seller's market, with advertisers often standing in line to buy choice time. They argued that some advertiser will turn up to buy time on any show the networks put on the air. After all, the shows are concocted to be popular and inoffensive in the first place. But more revealing was CBS Entertainment Division president Bud Grant's answer. "We don't," he started to say, then interrupted himself and went on, "we try not to think of the world of advertisers out there. We know how important it is, and they give us our weekly check, but I think that in terms of just entertainment programming we take the merits of the show into account as to whether we'd do it or not." The knowledge of who pays the bills can't be dispelled, even though it doesn't always rise to consciousness. Network executives internalize the desires of advertisers. CBS's Herman Keld, who has taken part in scheduling meetings for many years, didn't qualify his answer when I asked him whether ad agencies—and affiliates—are taken into account in programming decisions. "I would say they are always taken into account. Always taken into account."

To fathom both the power and the limits of the Coalition for Better Television (and other pressure groups), we also have to understand the mechanics of advertiser time-buying. To advertisers, programs amount to packaging for commercials. Accordingly, what advertising agencies shop for each year in companies' behalf is "environments." They do more than 90 percent of their buying for an entire year or a particular quarter. This is so-called up-front buying. Each spring, after the networks announce their new schedules, the agencies screen samples of the season's shows. If the American Widget Company wants to spend \$10 million over the coming year advertising its latest models, its agency calls a network sales department and says it wants to spend a certain proportion of the \$10 million to reach, say, 18- to 34-year-old men during prime time. The network estimates the audience each of its shows can be expected to reach, along

with the expected demographic breakdown. It takes into account the show's history (if it is a renewal), its lead-in and competition, the characteristics of the time slot and, in the case of a new show, the look of the pilot (if any) and its producer's track record. The network might offer American Widget ten spots in show A, twelve in B, seven in C and so forth. The agency makes its own audience estimates and counterproposals: it wants only nine spots in B, but three in D. It plays one network's offer against another's. Negotiations continue. Eventually, the network and the agency agree on a price for the entire package. Whatever time the networks don't sell up front, they sell later on, usually for less.

The networks are fully aware, though, that even in a recession, network time is a seller's market. Since a high percentage of television advertisers sell package goods, which hold up relatively well in a tight economy, rather than durables, which don't, the networks weather recessions rather well. Time is a scarce and valuable commodity. Even at \$173,000 for thirty seconds, the price of a *M*A*S*H* spot in 1981, advertisers are eager to line up early. That is why the network executives who develop shows, order pilots and make up schedules can safely assume that advertisers will buy time in virtually any show that promises to be popular. Therefore, no single advertiser can wield veto power over a network. Yet without even troubling to think about it, network executives are likely to rule out any show that would probably offend a critical mass of advertisers. *The Adventures of Ralph Nader*, for instance, would be hard to sell to advertisers, even if it might promise to be a popular series; that is where the ideological line is drawn. In the present ideological climate, however, the executives wouldn't think *The Adventures of Ralph Nader* promising in the first place, so the question of advertiser censorship wouldn't come up.

Some advertisers and most network executives reproached the Reverends Wildmon and Falwell not only for threatening network power but also for crediting advertisers with a control, and therefore a responsibility, they had long since lost. But Falwell and Wildmon well knew that advertisers no



longer exercise direct control over programs, as they did in the early days of television. Their strategy, in effect, was to intimidate advertisers into reasserting control—by holding them responsible. Like the blacklists of the 1950s, they understood that advertisers were the weak link in the system.

Old-time writers, directors and producers often gaze back fondly on the “golden age” of the 1950s, when the airwaves were full of live drama. However, in their nostalgia they conveniently overlook the fact that advertisers and their agencies not only blacklisted the actors, writers and directors listed in the *Red Channels* registry, but regularly read scripts a day or two in advance of shooting. Many advertisers were sole sponsors: *The U.S. Steel Hour*, *Armstrong Circle Theater*, *The Lux Show Starring Rosemary Clooney*. Sponsors that bought whole shows, or major portions, didn’t shrink from direct censorship.

The economics of the industry changed the advertising system and increased network control at the expense of advertisers. The number of American households with television sets doubled from 1954 to 1964, and rose from 56 percent to 92 percent. As the television set became an obligatory domestic appliance, the price of commercial time rose steeply. Advertisers could no longer afford to buy entire shows, although companies like Hallmark, I.B.M. and Xerox bought occasional showcase specials to improve their public relations image. Moreover, advertising agencies came to feel that scatter-buying was a more efficient way of reaching audiences.

The quiz-show-rigging scandal of 1958, which at first brought the industry a wave of bad publicity and Congressional investigations, in the long run served the networks’ drive to stabilize production under their own command. Soon after the scandal broke, the networks cleaned house in a number of ways. For instance, they upgraded their broadcast standards divisions. At CBS, president Frank Stanton set down an explicit rule: Advertisers would no longer be permitted to read scripts in advance and demand changes if they thought their corporate image at risk. Instead, the network would permit them to screen filmed episodes and withdraw ads from particular ones. Many hands now paid the piper, and the piper—the network—called the tune.

The quiz-show scandal also accelerated the shift to filmed shows, which were not only easier to police but potentially much more remunerative for networks and production companies alike, since they were reusable commodities. The shift to film, for which Hollywood was better equipped than New York, had been proceeding for several years. Moreover, the top sponsors now preferred to be associated with the stars and standardized formats of episodic series.

The tainted quiz shows went off the air in the fall of 1958. The next fall, there were thirty new Hollywood film series on the air. The new system was in place, and it left the networks perfectly poised to keep ad rates climbing faster than production costs and license fees. But it left them with one lingering nuisance—advertiser cancellations. True, prime-time spots are a seller’s market, but advertisers still have the right to cancel. Ad agencies and larger individual advertisers

started contracting with screening agencies based in New York, which monitor forthcoming series episodes. If the screening agency thinks an episode is potentially troublesome to an advertiser, it flags the ad agency, which looks at the show itself. An ad agency or advertiser sometimes learns about a sexually charged episode from a network press release or a newspaper or *TV Guide* article. In that case, a CBS sales vice president explains, “We have people waiting in line, people who may not be as sensitive. Maybe it’s a show on toxic shock syndrome, and because they had a problem with Rely [tampons], maybe P & G [Procter & Gamble] says, ‘Hey, I really don’t want to be in that show tonight.’ And so we say, ‘O.K., we’ll flip you to next week.’ Or let’s say we’re running a movie and there are a lot of car crashes, and we’ve got Ford automotive in there. But they want to run during this period of time. You might try to flip-flop, week for week. Instead of running on March 1, you run on March 8, and you get another advertiser to move back. You go to the other advertiser and he says, ‘Well, how come Ford doesn’t want to run in there?’ And you say, ‘Because there are nine car crashes.’ The guy says, ‘Sure, I’ll move.’” If no such exchange is possible, the network offers the spot to other clients, usually for a lower price. “Depending on how well we do our job,” the executive says, “we can lose a little money, a lot of money or no money.”

In early 1981, there were only six or eight last-minute cancellations a month at CBS, usually for violent movies. But a few months later, as press coverage gave the Coalition for Better Television increased momentum, the networks began to grow nervous about the rising rate of withdrawals. Producers and writers smelled incipient censorship. In May, the industry’s elite held a summit conference in palmy Ojai, near Los Angeles. Although it had been called months earlier to address the threat of pressure groups across the ideological spectrum, there was only one pressure group whose spirit stalked the manicured lawns of the Ojai Valley Inn. This was what Grant Tinker called the “galvanizing specter” of the fundamentalist right, “the first group to attack the entire medium.” At Ojai, Alfred Schneider, head of ABC’s Standards and Practices department, rattled the assemblage of producers, writers, advertisers and network executives when he told them that in recent weeks there had been an increase in the number of advertisers “asking to be relieved of their obligations to a particular program.” The requests involved less than 2 percent of ABC’s shows, but the network had not publicly acknowledged any such trouble before.

The statements of television’s major advertisers sounded defensive, even panicky. Bristol-Myers’s Marvin Koslow summed up their views when he said, “I know they have female mud-wrestling in Evansville, Indiana. I’ve been there. But people don’t want it in their homes.” Tom Ryan of Gillette said that his company had indeed increased its withdrawals in the previous year, although not, he insisted, because of pressure from fundamentalist groups. It was simply that Gillette didn’t want to be associated with the networks’ “gratuitous sex and violence.” Vice president F. Kent Mitchel of General Foods (television’s second-

largest advertiser) told me that the number of episodes from which his company was withdrawing ads was on the rise, to about a hundred a year. Mitchel also expressed concern about sex and violence. At the time, General Foods was being boycotted by a Church of Christ campaign headed by the Rev. John Hurt of Joelton, Tennessee, for buying spots in *Charlie's Angels*, among other shows, but Mitchel said that the boycott wasn't hurting sales. After all, it isn't easy to determine which brands on the supermarket shelf are General's. General Foods might, however, have feared that Reverend Wildmon's cadres, with the visible help of Reverend Falwell, would be better organized and more numerous than Reverend Hurt's. But corporate timidity is not necessarily so rational. Companies are not in business to defend freedom of expression, and even a few letters can make them fearful of losing money, the only fear that counts.

The question of how boycotts actually affect advertisers was raised at Ojai by then-CBS commentator Jeff Greenfield in a conversation with Gail Smith, at the time the top advertising executive at General Motors (television's third-largest advertiser). Greenfield said that if General Motors was boycotted, and if the company lost 10,000 sales to people who wouldn't be caught dead parking Chevies in their church parking lots, the loss would add up to something like \$75 million. Gail Smith nodded, jabbing his finger for emphasis: "And we've lost 'em for four years!" Later he added with indignation, "We're not in the business of antagonizing people. I don't think our company will be hit, but God help the companies that are!"

The advertisers' case of nerves at Ojai proved to be a preview of a more dramatic public event. In mid-June, two weeks before Wildmon was scheduled to hold a press conference announcing a boycott, Owen B. Butler, chairman of the board of Procter & Gamble, which is far and away television's biggest spender, stunned a Hollywood audience when he announced that, despite the company's concern about C.B.T.V.'s methods, "we think the coalition is expressing some very important and broadly held views about gratuitous sex, violence and profanity." During the 1980-81 season, Butler said, P&G had "withdrawn sponsorship from over fifty programs, including movies, for reasons of taste."

In a way, not much was new. As the speech itself and several press reports failed to make clear, Butler meant fifty discrete prime-time series episodes and movies, not entire series. Fifty programs add up to about 3 percent of P&G's prime-time total. But the big news, which the press proceeded to inflate, was that Butler was saying this out loud. Why? Was business swinging right with Reagan in the White House? Was P&G trying to co-opt Wildmon and to avoid boycott?

Reaction to Butler's speech was immediate. Some advertisers and agency executives were privately dismayed at the public cave-in. One Madison Avenue executive told me that Butler had single-handedly kept Wildmon's crusade alive. General Mills told C.B.T.V. that it would set its own standards, thank you. But Butler's speech was welcomed by many. "It's going to awaken other companies to develop

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policies along those lines," said Joseph Block, PepsiCo vice president of public relations. Representatives of at least two major companies—SmithKline and Miles Laboratories—met secretly with Wildmon and tendered assurances that they were on the side of clean TV. SmithKline even wrote to the networks to express "concern" about "the level of gratuitous sex and violence." The Reverend Wildmon was gratified, and in a telephone interview took credit for Butler's action.

By going public, Butler helped legitimize Wildmon—and also handed him his out. Two weeks later, Wildmon held his long-ballyhooed press conference in Washington, and announced that the boycott was off, at least temporarily, because it was unnecessary. "Those advertisers that were not concerned during our monitoring period," he said, "are now concerned." Network executives crowed that the victory was theirs, insisting they had not budged, would not budge and had succeeded in warding off a threat to free expression rivaling the burning of books. Some pointed out that the threat of a boycott was more effective than the real thing would have been. If network-commissioned polls were accurate, the coalition had more support among America's leading advertisers than among the population at large. Wildmon had to have been mindful of a poll commissioned by ABC which suggested that as little as 1.3 percent of the population would support a product boycott. NBC produced a poll to like effect, showing that people who associate themselves with the Moral Majority watch about the same kinds of programs as everybody else. With several major advertisers on the run, there was no reason for Wildmon to press his luck.

At this point, one Madison Avenue executive opined that the coalition was "melting away. I suspect we're dealing with ten people and a mimeograph machine." But he granted that at the networks, "everybody is a little more careful." The coalition's bêtes noires, including *Dallas* and *Three's Company*, were safe as long as their ratings remained irreproachable, but Wildmon might have made the margin of difference in keeping new titillations off the air and muting what was already on. Low necklines were raised, and gays were dispatched to the closet again. The networks adjusted to pressure as they customarily do, by trimming whatever might make vociferous enemies.

During the past decade, TV's treatment of homosexuals has been something of a bellwether. Network executives like to travel down the middle of the road, as they construe it. In 1972, they were beginning to think the road was veering toward the left. That was the year ABC commissioned the movie *That Certain Summer*, in which Hal Holbrook played a homosexual struggling to explain himself to his son. ABC's Standards and Practices hired a psychiatrist and a lawyer as consultants to "balance" the script. They wanted the writers, Richard Levinson and William Link, to add a police officer or "an Archie Bunker character" to condemn homosexuality, to defuse the prejudices of "latent homosexual viewers." Finally, Levinson and Link agreed to write in new lines. At the end of the movie, after the homosexual hero

says to his son, "A lot of people—most people, I guess—think it's wrong . . . they say it's a sickness . . . they say it's something that has to be cured," they added, "Maybe they're right. I don't know. . . . I *do* know that it isn't easy. If I had a choice, it's not something I'd pick for myself." Gay liberationists damned them, and later they said they regretted making the concession.

Subsequently, the networks tilted against the guardians of orthodox morality. They began to send scripts to gay consultants routinely. "Anything that crops up in a script that even is remotely gay," said writer Allan Burns, "they get it. And they really make themselves heard." Whenever *Lou Grant* dealt with gays, the writers received "interminable phone calls," Burns said. Liberal writers thought the well-organized gay lobby had somehow acquired veto power, and resented it. Ernest Kinoy (who wrote *Roots*, *Roots II*, *Skokie* and many other politically sensitive TV movies) noted that the black lobby could not keep *Beulah Land* off the screen, but that it would be hard to sell the idea of a "program which involved a hero who is a homosexual and is distressed about it and goes to an analyst, and they decide that this is not a good way to be; and so he works on it, because the analyst says, yes, this is a character disorder, and he becomes much improved. You can handle homosexuality—as long as you handle it in a lovely, tolerant fashion that will not upset the gay-liberation lobby."

Nigel McKeand, who produced *Family*, agrees that "no one can (whether you believe this or not) say that, for instance, homosexuality is infantile, and it is an absurd way to lead your life, and it's an arrested development. You can say two lesbians should be allowed to live in peace." At Ojai, the story circulated of a TV-movie script about a woman who left her husband, had a lesbian affair and eventually went back to her husband. Standards and Practices had approved the story, but at the script stage said, "We're deeply concerned about the last scene," in which the woman fell into her husband's arms and said, "It's good to be home again." Standards said, "Don't you realize that will offend every lesbian in America?" The line was cut. In the end, the movie wasn't made. In 1981, the gay lobby could still improve images, but it couldn't get movies made.

Political winds can be hard to track; producers learn to tack and trim. In 1976, *Family* ran an episode in which the teen-age son discovered his best friend was a homosexual. The show got a high rating, whereupon ABC displayed what McKeand calls "an unseemly haste to get another homosexual show on." *Family* prepared an episode for the next season in which the younger daughter, played by Kristy McNichol, found out one of her teachers was a lesbian. By the time the episode was finished, the backlash was beginning to gather. It was the autumn of the Briggs ballot initiative, which would have barred homosexuals from teaching in public schools in California. The news was full of stories about Anita Bryant's crusade against gay rights, and ABC wanted to defer the episode until after the election and bury it opposite *The Godfather*. The network didn't want to have to give equal time, it said. It was afraid viewers would think the McNichol character was a homosexual. McKeand in-

sisted that the show was innocuous. "For Christ's sake," he told Standards and Practices chief Al Schneider, "Lillian Hellman wrote *The Children's Hour* fifty years ago. This doesn't even make the statement that *The Children's Hour* makes. It simply says, Don't dump on someone because of their problems or their proclivities." He persuaded Aaron Spelling and Leonard Goldberg, who owned the show, to exercise their influence. He reminded Schneider of ABC's "unseemly haste" and argued that to present a simple case for tolerance was all the more important now that the climate had turned nasty. In the end, with Spelling and Goldberg's help, the episode was aired as scheduled.

In 1981, although an actor with Tony Randall's clout could play a "homosexual" in *Love, Sidney*, the character was stripped of all sexuality. The way NBC read the political climate, it was important to satisfy the gay lobby that Sidney Shorr's image wasn't derogatory, while satisfying the "far righteous" that it wasn't favorable. In the pilot of *Love, Sidney*, a TV movie called *Sidney Shorr*, there were a few references suggesting that Sidney had once had a male lover. The series Sidney, however, was a man without a sex life. His homosexuality was essentially a plot device to keep his relationship with the young woman, Laurie, platonic. In the pilot, Sidney talked the pregnant and unmarried Laurie out of having an abortion and pledged to care for both her and her child.

Sidney was a 1980s version of *Father Knows Best*. The scripts were contrived to legitimize nonpracticing homosexuals and family traditions at the same time. Oliver Hailey,

who wrote the pilot, told me that "if the Moral Majority could just see it, they'd love it. Sidney's a throwback. He's pro-family. He's almost a prude about sex." For all that, the show was "a timid groundbreaker," Hailey said after the pilot aired. "I felt everyone beginning to panic." Randall denied that the network pressured him to alter the character, but Hailey said that Sidney's homosexuality had been toned down in successive drafts. Randall defended Sidney as an authentic middle-aged gay type, and he fought to keep Sidney gay (if inactively so).

Newt Deiter, the much-consulted head of the Gay Media Task Force, was shown the pilot script, and he was paid to answer the simple question: Are there homosexuals like Sidney Shorr? He told NBC that Sidney did, in fact, correspond to a sexless, sublimating type of homosexual. Deiter told me that in 1977, the networks were working on perhaps thirty projects—movies, pilots and series episodes—involving gay characters. "At this point," he said in the fall of 1981, "I know of five. Now something has to be so superb that it can overcome the presumption against a gay show." Richard Levinson said he doubted *That Certain Summer* could get made in this atmosphere.

In May 1981, affiliate managers in Salt Lake City; Biloxi, Mississippi; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Columbia, Missouri, told me they had not noticed any upsurge of fundamentalist mail. Nevertheless, the networks were convinced the popular pendulum was swinging away not just from shows about homosexuality but from titillation shows featuring the female body. What the industry called the

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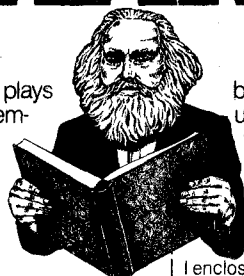
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"jiggle" genre had been distinctly overexposed. On top of this, the coalition was beating the drums, arousing the public and intimidating advertisers. Norman Lear organized People for the American Way to fight the New Right, but he and other Hollywood liberals shared Reverend Wildmon's distaste for smarmy sex jokes and what he called "reprehensible" jiggling. No prominent voice in the industry, except the producers of shows like *Three's Company* (who warned against another wave of *Red Channels*-style blacklisting), was prepared to stand up for T&A. The upshot was that by the fall of 1981, jiggle was conspicuous by its absence from the new schedule, and the half-draped, alluring male body was more evident than that of the female.

The "far righteous" had succeeded in their limited objectives. Partly for that reason and partly because of disagreements over strategy, the coalition dropped out of sight. Reverend Falwell decided to concentrate on other New Right issues. When Reverend Wildmon went public again, it was to call for a boycott of NBC's movie *Sister, Sister*, and then for a boycott of NBC itself—because of its alleged anti-Christian bias. This time the press paid little attention, and Wildmon's media star set. But the Bible Belt had already sent the networks a message guaranteed to reverberate through their corridors for a long time to come. □

Stupid War

(Continued From Front Cover)

divided and corrupt minority like the Maronites can't expect to rule even for a short time. If they were capable of governing, the war would have been unnecessary. Since they aren't, the Israelis should not have started fighting.

All this may seem an elementary exercise in logic, yet it was too advanced for people in Washington and Jerusalem to comprehend. Why was that so? After all, Washington and Jerusalem are swarming with intelligence experts—experts on strategy, international affairs, the Soviet Union, the Arab world, the Palestinians and all the groups that make up the Palestine Liberation Organization; experts on the various Maronite clans in Lebanon and on the Druses, Shiites and Sunni Moslems.

So why? The answer is that Washington and Jerusalem relied on their intelligence services. "Intelligence services" is an oxymoron; when intelligence is for hire, it's no longer intelligence; it's stupidity. The absence of genuine intelligence explains the inability of a lot of brilliant people to see the obvious. Real intelligence is free; it is not subject to preconceptions. When it is subject to preconceptions, intelligence is blind.

Louis XVI in 1789 and the Shah of Iran in 1978 were not stupid, only blind. The blindness of the ruling classes has been the leading cause of social change throughout history; it is the primary stimulus to the dialectical process.

In normal times, Israel would be a human community.

Amos Kenan is an Israeli novelist and a columnist for Yediot Aharonot.

But Israel has never experienced normal times, even before Begin. Under Begin and Sharon, Israel had one dream: to become a big, powerful, ferocious watchdog for the United States. That is a stupid dream for humans, and it is not even a good one for dogs.

What Israel should be dreaming about is being accepted by the Arab world, rather than imposing itself on it. To be accepted, one must give, not simply take. When Anwar el-Sadat came to Israel offering peace, he offered something invisible, intangible, immeasurable. In return, he asked for a visible, tangible, measurable thing called territory.

The Israelis felt cheated by that bargain. They were unable to see the invisible thing called peace. Although they reluctantly accepted Sadat's offer, it turned out that they wanted more. In return for the very visible Sinai they wanted invisible peace with the invisible Palestinians. Egyptians are visible to Israelis: they have a state and they have territory. The Palestinians have no state, so they have no territory, so they are invisible; so to get invisible peace from them, one need give nothing in exchange—so the Israelis thought.

When those invisible Palestinians based in Lebanon attacked Israel, the dream of being Washington's watchdog came true. With a green light from the Reagan Administration, Israeli troops invaded Lebanon.

The Israeli intelligence services informed the Israeli Army that the Maronites could be counted on, that Syria would be no trouble, that the Soviet Union would be no trouble, that the Palestinians would be no trouble, that the Druses, Shiites and Sunnis would be no trouble.

We simple mortals will never know if Washington believed this shit. All we simple mortals know is that as long as Soviet weapons were used against American weapons without a single Soviet or American soldier getting hurt, why shouldn't Washington believe it?

There is an old Jewish joke about two Polish barons. "If you don't stop hitting my Jew," one baron says, "I'll hit your Jew."

In the June 1967 war, Soviet weapons proved inferior to American weapons. By the time of the October 1973 war, the Russians' weapons were superior to the Americans'. In June 1982 in Lebanon, Soviet weapons were inferior again. In the next war it will be the American weapons' turn. That's why there will be a next war.

One is inclined to give the Washington experts the benefit of the doubt. Maybe they are not stupid. Maybe they are totally cynical. Maybe they believe that the United States should fight the Soviet Union until the last Israeli, Palestinian, Syrian, Druse, Maronite, Shiite and Sunni has been killed.

Israel has learned nothing from its horrible, senseless war. Begin's successors are creating a situation in which another war is inevitable.

Israel still believes in a military solution to the Palestinian problem. It hopes that the United States will give it the role of keeping order in the Middle East.

Dog eat dog, while the masters watch.

Nineteen eighty-four will not be a very good year. □

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

■ THE REPRESSION OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

The Lost Freudian Left

RUSSELL JACOBY

The Freudians of the first and second generation were primarily cosmopolitan intellectuals, not narrow medical therapists. Compared with recent American analysts, they represent another species. To Freud and Sandor Ferenczi and Ernest Jones, clinical practice did not exhaust psychoanalysis. Actively engaged with cultural and social issues, they spun audacious theories. The soundness of these theories—from Freud's *Totem and Taboo* to Ferenczi's *Thalassa*—is not the point; the theories testified to the reach and vitality of psychoanalysis in its classical period. The early analysts envisioned their science not only as a trade but as a cultural and, sometimes, political force.

Today it is easy to forget how many early psychoanalysts identified themselves as socialists and Marxists: Paul Federn, Helene Deutsch, Siegfried Bernfeld, Herman Nunberg, Annie and Wilhelm Reich, Edith Jacobson, Willi Hoffer, Martin Grotjahn, Karl Landauer, Bruno Bettelheim, Ernst Simmel, Otto Fenichel. Before the onset of fascism, these analysts—and these do not include non-analysts involved with psychoanalysis such as those in the Frankfurt School—were not isolated individuals. In Vienna and Berlin in the politically charged atmosphere of the late 1920s and early 1930s, their lives and projects frequently overlapped.

The number of these political Freudians was sizable and their individual contributions important. Most significant, however, was their collective devotion to social theorizing that kept alive the breadth of classical psycho-

analysis; they were an index of the health of psychoanalysis. The political Freudians dissipated as classical psychoanalysis declined. When American psychoanalysis embraced a neutral clinical theorizing, it simultaneously became inhospitable to cultural and political psychoanalysis. The political Freudians, once common, became an extinct breed. To put it sharply, the repression of the political Freudians and the repression of psychoanalysis itself is the same story.

To recount this double tale of repression runs against the grain of contemporary psychoanalysis and, at the least, risks falling on deaf ears. The victory of the psychoanalytic establishment over its own dissenters—and ultimately over itself—harbors a self-perpetuating dynamic that is difficult to slow down or redirect. The political Freudians unsuccessfully resisted the intellectual division of labor that slices into modern cultural life. Psychoanalysis became what these analysts fought against: a medical specialty that relegated society to the sociologists, economics to the economists and philosophy to the philosophers. Today few are less receptive to the political and cultural contours of psychoanalysis than professional analysts. This undermines in advance any attempts to reset the historical record. Even the appropriate vocabulary—"left-wing Freudians," "Marxist psychoanalysts," "political psychoanalysts," "humanism" itself—sticks in the throat of contemporary psychoanalysis. These words today seem odd and foreign.

Foreign is the opposite of familiar. It is tempting to turn psychoanalysis on itself—the psychoanalysis of psychoanalysis. Freud wrote a sparkling essay on the power of the uncanny, in which he said that the "uncanny is in reality nothing new or foreign, but something familiar and old-established in the mind that has been estranged only by the process of repression." Together with another statement by Freud, a clue to the fate of the political analytic tradition may be in reach: "The doctrine of repression is the foundation-stone on which the whole structure of psychoanalysis rests." Freud did not intend a (Freudian) double-entendre, but it is

arguable that the structure of psychoanalysis is founded on repression—the repression of its own past. The history of the political Freudians has been blocked; occasionally it troubles the sleep of psychoanalysis.

Psychoanalysts guard the past of their discipline. Far beyond the boundaries of ethics and decency, they have closed archives for decades, even centuries. Some material in the Sigmund Freud Collection of the Library of Congress, which includes the papers of many analysts, is closed until the twenty-second century! What is there to hide? In the typical chronicle, biography or obituary, the socialist past of an analyst is not mentioned. Fenichel's more political writings were carefully omitted from his *Collected Papers*, assembled after his death. Just as an individual may pay for an obsession with a loss of vitality, for psychoanalysis as a whole, the obsessive flight from its past drains its theoretical life.

While the plans, the hopes and sometimes the writings of the political Freudians have been washed away, it must not be supposed that they passively suffered history: the repression of psychoanalysis is also its self-repression. The political Freudians often facilitated and intensified the repression; this is why it is so difficult to reassemble, or even find, the pieces of the story. The best sources—the political Freudians themselves—turned silent. The catastrophe of fascism and exile compelled or at least encouraged them to bury their own histories. In the United States, a hostility to Marxism intimidated the immigrants; it forced radicals, especially radical refugees, to clean out their bookshelves and censor their pasts.

Absorbed by the medical profession, translated into a dry scientific idiom, practiced by conventional and pragmatic doctors, psychoanalysis developed very differently in Chicago and Topeka in the 1940s and 1950s from the way it had in Vienna and Berlin in the 1920s. "I had moved from the psychoanalytic coffeehouses of Europe," wrote Martin Grotjahn, as he reflected on his trek from Berlin to Topeka, "to the big American institutes of psychoanalysis. . . . This difference caused fateful confusions." Inside these institutes, psychoanalysis fattened into a quiet trade; the intellectual fervor,

Russell Jacoby, currently living in Vancouver, is the author of Social Amnesia: A Critique of Conformist Psychology from Adler to Laing (Beacon) and Dialectic of Defeat: Contours of Western Marxism (Cambridge University Press). This essay is taken, with permission, from his book The Repression of Psychoanalysis: Otto Fenichel and the Political Freudians, which will be published by Basic Books in November.

reforming zeal and theoretical boldness of classical psychoanalysis were history.

The forces that guided the Americanization of psychoanalysis can be roughly identified: professionalization and medicalization; the insecurity of refugee analysts; the gap between American and European culture; and—as cause and effect—the emergence of the neo-Freudians.

Together these forces defined a phenomenon as critical to psychoanalysis as to any body of thought—its transmission across generations. A cultural tradition that earns or retains a public vitality requires more than cogent texts. A corpus can be preserved in libraries or private book collections; texts can come alive for single individuals. However, to cross the line from scholarly or marginal discourse to a public and cultural presence, teachers and students must breathe life into texts. The pivotal teaching situation extends further than formal courses, classes and institutions; it relies on ineffable human moments—the contact of the enthusiasms, desires and fears of teachers with the emotions of students.

Since the transmission of culture is a fragile affair, a thousand realities can nurture or injure it. Basic scientific knowledge cannot be lost; and even if temporarily blocked, it can eventually be recovered from texts. Other elements of culture—art, philosophy and so forth—depend more heavily on emotional coloring and human contact. If a certain urgency is not communicated by teachers or does not resonate in students, these cultural impulses dissipate. Although these impulses are captured in texts and paintings, these records become mere documents of past eras if they are not replenished by new generations of followers.

Americanization reached into the arena where psychoanalytic culture is passed from generation to generation; precisely because the zone of transmission is so delicate, a few small changes can radically alter its shape. For instance, European intellectuals and American doctors might teach, as well as perceive, the identical texts of Freud in very different fashions. Within a single generation some features of psychoanalytic culture may slip away, while others receive endless attention. The vigor of psychoanalysis thus ultimately depends on how it is taught and understood.

The professionalization of psychoanalysis cannot be detached from the

general professionalization of American life over the last century. In the 1870s and 1880s some 200 professional associations—from the American Forestry Association to the American Mathematical Society—were founded. The formation of professional groups did not signify simply an increase in specialized knowledge; it also represented the controlling, segmenting and monopolizing of skills. As Burton J. Bledstein states in his *Culture of Professionalism*:

By professionalizing a sphere of American life such as poverty, criminality or disease, Mid-victorians planned both to isolate and control the phenomenon. . . . Every sphere of American life came within the power of the Mid-victorian professional to set apart, regulate and contain.

New professional groups regularly demanded the sole accrediting rights for their specialty: dental associations wanted the exclusive right to accredit dentists; legal associations wanted to accredit lawyers; and so on. They justified this demand by its public and private benefits. They aimed to protect the community from incompetent practitioners; they also wanted to secure and expand their trade by regulating the market. This entailed establishing rites and rituals to limit the flow into the profession as well as to fend off internal threats. As these organizations prospered, they dampened and channeled internal dissent.

The economic incentives for professionalization, especially in recent decades, must be acknowledged. Very simply, the independent producer lacks the capital and resources to survive in a mass economy. For the same reason that mom and pop grocery and hardware stores succumb to national chains, independent intellectuals and specialists are rendered obsolete by major institutions; they either affiliate with universities or national organizations or they find themselves out of business. Moreover, in an atomized society, institutional affiliation confers identity and legitimacy.

Psychoanalysis in America has generally conformed to the pattern of professionalization. A sudden increase in interest, students and analysts in the 1930s and 1940s led to the founding of new institutes, a reorganization of the national association and efforts to gain sole accrediting rights. As Fenichel noted, the conviviality of the early years and the direct emotional ties to Freud were for-

eign to the new generation of New York and Chicago analysts.

A single form dominated the professionalization of psychoanalysis: medicalization, or the exclusion of nonmedical (lay) analysts. Almost from its beginnings in the United States, Americans sought to confine psychoanalysis to medical doctors. Few issues provoked Freud more passionately than lay analysis: he relentlessly defended it. His reasoning was simple and prescient: monopolization by medical doctors would degrade psychoanalysis into a specialty. Freud wanted psychoanalysis to contribute to general knowledge and culture; he objected to medical doctors restricting it to therapy.

For Freud, this was not a tangential concern; the future of psychoanalysis depended on blocking its monopolization by medical doctors. Against the widespread sentiment of analysts, Freud insisted that its medical use was only a fraction of psychoanalysis:

The use of analysis for the treatment of neuroses is only one of its applications; the future will perhaps show that it is not the most important one. . . . It would be wrong to sacrifice all the other applications to this single one, just because it touches on the circle of medical interests.

Freud never doubted the danger from doctors. Almost his first words to the American analyst Clarence P. Oberndorf after seven years of not seeing him were, "And tell me, what do you really have against lay analysis?"

The history of psychoanalysis is often interpreted as the history of subservience to Freud. Yet on the issue of lay analysis, especially in the United States, the medical doctors defeated Freud. Frequently, the more orthodox the analysts, the more they fought against Freud. Freud did not mince words; the elimination of lay analysis, he said, would jeopardize the vitality of psychoanalysis. He called the American resolutions against lay analysis "an attempt at repression." The doctors of repression repressed their science.

Several motives induced American analysts to exclude nonmedical practitioners. They believed psychoanalysts required medical expertise in order to distinguish between somatic and psychological disorders. The lack of prestige besetting psychoanalysis in its earlier years grieved them. By limiting analysis to medical doctors they insured its respectability. Nor can more cynical motives be discounted: excluding lay

practitioners guaranteed doctors a larger and more lucrative trade. Walter C. Langer, a lay analyst trained in Vienna, reflected bitterly on the American hostility to lay analysts:

When I think of [lay] analysts like Anna Freud, Ernst Kris, Robert Waelder, Erik Erikson, to name only a few, I wonder what more they can expect. Confidentially, I sort of had the feeling that the early medical analysts who were instrumental in formulating the policies of our American institutes considered it a most effective way of closing the door to competition. . . . I cannot help but think back on the remark that the President of the New York Psychoanalytic Society made when I approached him for affidavits [for refugee analysts fleeing Vienna for the United States]: "What in the world would we do with all these additional analysts?"

The exclusion of lay analysts not only confined analytic practice to medical doctors; it also delivered psychoanalysis to the medical establishment. Taught by doctors to interns, psychoanalysis became part of the medical curriculum. Moreover, American medical students, unlike their European counterparts, generally receive a feeble humanist education; even before they are medical students, they often enroll in narrow premedical programs geared to winning a slot in medical school. Medical education does not correct but intensifies this imbalance. By the time doctors specialize in psychiatry, only the medical surface of psychoanalysis has any relevance or meaning to them.

A more serious problem than the medical content of psychoanalytic education is the fact that medicalization acts as a human filter; it preselects the pool of potential psychoanalysts. Insofar as the competition to enter medical schools is keen and the financial rewards often large, American medicine attracts the more conventional and conservative students. Few individuals with humanist or political designs enter the profession, and obviously few are available to train to be analysts. When the first and second generation of Europeans studied psychoanalysis, they were not guaranteed a secure trade; rather they chose a risky new field because of their devotion to its cultural, social or personal implications. Many refugee analysts were embarrassed by the large fees they could, and were expected to, command in the United States.

This screening of psychoanalytic candidates may be the gravest consequence

of medicalization, since the individuals who enter a discipline predetermine its evolution. If these individuals are largely pragmatic and conservative doctors, they will impart those values to their profession, effectively insulating psychoanalysis from wider cultural currents. Moreover, the process tends to be self-perpetuating. Conventional doctors cast the science in their own image; this image becomes the reality that attracts new recruits who are in tune with a technical and prosperous trade.

American psychoanalyst Joel Kovel describes his analytic training, recalling

the younger analysts fawning on the illuminati, those elder training analysts with seerlike access to privileged code words: "intrasytemic," "aggressivized energy," "deneutralization". . . . The main issues were complexity and a sterile field. Analysts should do nothing else but analysis, and analysis was nothing but a fantastically subtle and complex technical pursuit that related to nothing else in the world and was incomprehensible to the uninitiated, i.e. the whole population except for a thousand or so properly certified professionals. Thus was the outside kept out and the inside in.

The medical filter not only sifted out

mavericks, dissenters, intellectuals, humanists and other "irregular" individuals; it also proved extremely effective in eliminating women. Historically, medicine in the United States has been almost exclusively a male preserve. Until recently, the proportion of female physicians to male physicians in the United States was one of the lowest in the world—about 7 percent in the 1960s, a figure far below the average in Europe (except in Spain). Obviously very few women doctors were even available to enter psychoanalytic training.

This contrasts dramatically with the situation of classical psychoanalysis. It is almost possible to speak of the "defeminization" of analysis. Not only were women a sizable presence in European analysis, from Lou Andreas-Salomé to Sabina Spielrein, Melanie Klein, Edith Jacobson and Helene Deutsch, but the women it attracted were exceptional. As a new field dealing with sexuality, psychoanalysis drew women who were bucking the tide. It does not seem fortuitous that Fenichel's circle of political analysts consisted—with a single exception—of women. A more reliable index may be Fenichel's so-called Children's Seminar, his Berlin



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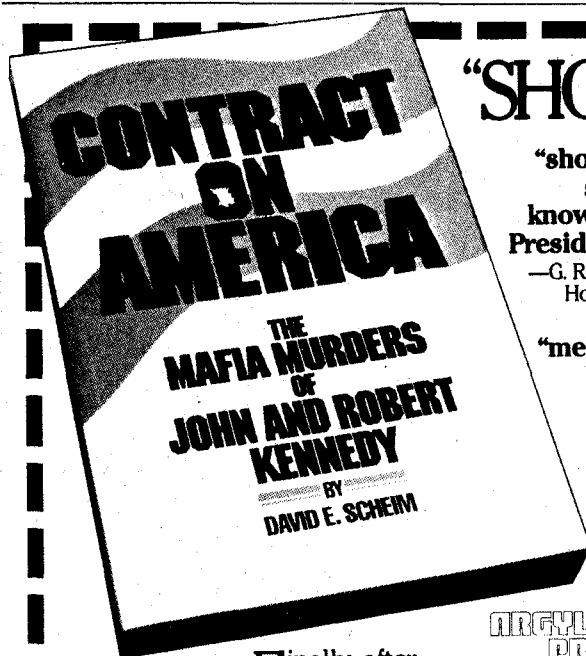
discussion group, which was frequented by the more independent psychoanalytic candidates. According to his roster, of the forty-six analysts who participated, almost half were women.

Next to the quiet, if effective, process of medicalization, the impact of immigration was noisy and catastrophic. The European analysts born around 1900 fled their homelands in the middle of their lives and careers. The power of psychoanalytic organizations to regulate dissent—and filter out dissenters—paled in comparison with the might of the state to expel or allow entry. Nor did doors swing open to central European, predominantly Jewish, exiles. Professing unpopular political opinions did not help matters. It was news to no one that the United States did not look kindly upon socialists and Marxists.

The refugees knew the risks. One relative of Fenichel's, arrested by the Gestapo, admitted to membership in the Communist Party and was killed. Fenichel learned the lesson of valuing life over honesty. In one way or another, all the exiles came to this conclusion. As they filled out their applications for entry permits and visas, their politics evaporated; and what they left off the forms, they dumped in the Atlantic as they crossed it. When they arrived in the New World, their past belonged to the past.

The history of the psychoanalytic exiles is a short course in American immigration. "The intellectual immigrants of the thirties . . . became Americanized at a much faster pace than any previous group of immigrants," wrote Laura Fermi. Highly educated and politically alert, they did not wish to threaten their precarious legal status by publicly; or even privately, recalling their European political commitments. Within a very few years, their children, students, friends and new wives and husbands often had only the vaguest inklings of their European experiences.

The fears of the immigrants were not ill founded. Fenichel himself earned an F.B.I. file. One good citizen reported to the F.B.I. that "due to the fact that each and every German is now apparently under suspicion, I feel that I should give you the information . . ." He volunteered the damning information that Fenichel seemed very anxious about receiving his mail; even worse, the mail was in German. A more professional account was submitted by an F.B.I. "special agent" in Los Angeles,



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under the heading "Espionage": "In May 1938, one *Otto Fenichel* moved into the premises at. . . This man gave out that he was a psychoanalyst." The agent attached a description which completed the portrait of Fenichel as a spy: "*Hair*: dark, bushy; *Eyes*: dark—wears glasses; *Complexion*: dark and swarthy; *Nose*: prominent; *Nationality*: possibly of German extraction." Fenichel believed that his naturalization was delayed because of his political past.

Only the foolhardy would parade their political loyalties in this situation. The cold war and McCarthyism intimidated any who hoped that a postwar America might liberalize the political atmosphere. For a generation that had its family, friends and patients arrested

and often killed, this was sufficient intimidation. To this day many refugees remain politically circumspect.

The consequences of those fears are incalculable: they affected the projects, the vocabulary and the thoughts of the refugees. In reducing—usually eliminating—their public profiles, the political Freudians jeopardized the transmission of their knowledge, ideas and commitments. Insofar as they did not present themselves as political or oppositional thinkers, they could not attract kindred souls or students. Their secrecy and caution insured their personal survival, even success, but ultimately insured their cultural demise. They were unable to pass along their ideas to a new generation. □

Judaism and Its Discontents

LAURA SHAPIRO

HOW TO RUN A TRADITIONAL JEWISH HOUSEHOLD. By *Blu Greenberg*. Simon and Schuster. 525 pp. \$19.95.

ON BEING A JEWISH FEMINIST: A Reader. Edited by *Susannah Heschel*. Schocken Books. 288 pp. \$20. Paper \$9.95.

Of all the festivals in the Jewish calendar, Blu Greenberg says she would pick Simchat Torah (Rejoicing of the Torah) as the best day to introduce a newcomer to Orthodox Judaism. On that holiday some men carry the Torah around the synagogue for everyone to kiss; others sing and dance, and the children following the procession are showered with candy. Two or three men from the congregation are publicly honored for their learning and service, and there are jokes and songs during the prayers. Of course all this is happening in the men's section of the synagogue, where, if Greenberg's newcomer is lucky, he will be sitting. A female newcomer will find herself in the women's section watching the festivities from behind a screen. However, explains Greenberg, "most Orthodox women are quite satisfied, in fact perfectly happy, with the role of onlooker."

They'd better be. Orthodox Judaism

Laura Shapiro's articles and reviews have appeared in The Atlantic, Mother Jones, Rolling Stone and other publications.

as it's traditionally practiced—and as Greenberg describes it in precise, affectionate detail in *How to Run a Traditional Jewish Household*—displays only the most limited tolerance for women. Like Hinduism and Islam, it surrounds women with taboos based on a profound fear of female sexuality. That fear, embodied in relentless messages from the rabbis of yore, Greenberg chooses not to acknowledge. Admitting that women are barred from most liturgical practices, placed out of sight in the synagogue, kept silent and passive even at their own weddings, she doesn't supply the ancient and abiding reason: any sign of life from a woman might tempt a man at prayer into unprayerlike thoughts. Month after month an Orthodox woman is obliged to "purify" herself after menstruation by taking a ritual bath; during her time of impurity she sleeps alone, since she will defile any man who touches her. (Some couples, Greenberg notes, won't even hand the car keys directly to each other on those days—they set them down on a neutral surface.) Just to be on the safe side, the time of impurity is defined as a full twelve days each month. Greenberg argues that a twelve-day stretch of sexual abstinence every month calls for a powerful mutual commitment and may actually strengthen a marriage; and she describes every step of the ritual bath. What we never learn is how she and the other women in her community feel about being treated as spontaneous sources of filth and degradation.

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obligations receive the most attention in this book; and while these can be seen as little more than nonstop housekeeping, they are also the locus of what many people mean when they think of themselves as Jewish. Raised in the home of an Orthodox rabbi and married to one, Greenberg is intimately familiar with nooks and crannies of Judaism that most Talmudic sages never glimpsed. She tells how to *kasher* (make kosher, or purify) the pot that will be used to *kasher* other utensils for Passover by filling it with water, bringing it to a boil

and using pliers to drop into the water a large stone that has been heated over an open flame. That causes the water to overflow; hence, the pot is considered to have been "immersed" in boiling water. Once the pot has been kashered, spatulas and can openers, the blades of the food processor and various other utensils can be immersed, at an item-to-water ratio of one to sixty. (If the water stops boiling, drop in another hot stone for a moment.) It takes weeks to purify a house for Passover—not everything has to be boiled, of course, some household items must be blow-torched and others simply scrubbed—which is why Greenberg quotes her mother as saying that the Jewish housewife was the only one who didn't go out of bondage on Pesach. The spiritual value of cooking and cleaning has long been enshrined in American Protestantism ("Dirt is sin," explained one nineteenth-century home economist), but traditional Judaism far outstrips even the most excessive American passion for antisepsis.

Greenberg, who teaches, writes, lectures and is raising five children while pursuing a doctorate at Columbia University, openly looks forward to the day Orthodox Judaism will accommodate

women. She welcomes feminist innovations like the naming ceremony for daughters and the wedding blessing spoken by the bride. At the same time, she's perfectly content to wait while a tradition that has learned to distinguish confidently between the metal and the plastic racks of the dishwasher (the former can be kashered, the latter can't) reluctantly gets around to acknowledging women as equal partners in religion. Hers is one way of being a Jewish feminist, and perhaps it's the easiest. All you really give up is the fight, and the reward is spiritual sustenance for a lifetime.

Many of the contributors to *On Being a Jewish Feminist* share Greenberg's willingness to wait, and they greet each new sign of recognition—a prayer altered to include a reference to women, a nod of welcome from the men's side of the synagogue—with joy and gratitude. But among the essayists—who include scholars, political organizers, writers, social workers and rabbis—are some who can't sit still behind the screen.

As voice teacher Gail Shulman points out, Judaism itself sets up many a Jewish girl to be a feminist. A passion for justice, what she calls "the courage to live in opposition," is imbibed with the chicken soup in many homes. Beyond the laws and rituals that write out females there is a lively tradition of energetic, reassuringly skeptical women who fend for their families with zeal and pragmatism, inevitably raising their daughters to talk back. Paula Hyman, a professor at Jewish Theological Seminary, writes about the women of the *shtetl*, who supplied crucial extra income by sewing at home, selling bagels from a basket in the marketplace or working in a shop. "Jewish culture 'permitted' . . . women to be strong, capable and shrewd," she observes, and suggests there is a great deal more in Jewish history that may constitute a "usable past."

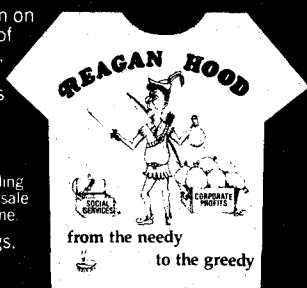
Whether there is a usable present for women in organized Judaism remains a question, judging from these essays. The non-Orthodox branches—Conservative, Reconstructionist and Reform—have made varying efforts to include women in the life of the synagogue; and indeed, to a woman like radio producer Thena Kendall, who had to sneak into the cemetery to attend her father's burial, since the ultra-Orthodox men following his coffin would not let her join them, the Reform tradition has brought immense satisfactions. "I can

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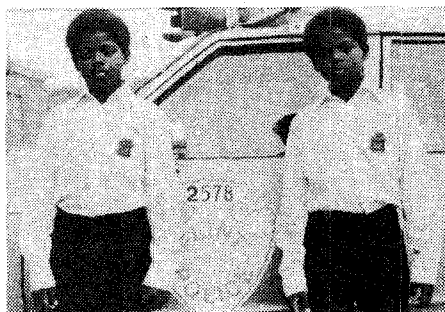
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October

24

1975—FBI Asst. Director of Intelligence Division Warnall discussing mail-intercepting projects testifies: "... we retain the material indefinitely . . ."

1975—FBI Chief of Counterintelligence Branigan testifies that the 25-year mail-intercepting project did not uncover "a single illegal agent."

1982—An ACLU report accuses the Reagan administration of "ideological opposition to civil liberties . . . the erosion of the Bill of Rights seems to be a primary goal."

sit alongside my husband and sons during any service, and I can now touch or kiss a Torah scroll when it is carried around the synagogue," she relates gladly. "This year I was even invited to carry a Torah on Simhat Torah."

Nonetheless, even the most liberal congregation bases its sacred practices on a written tradition created by men to support male experience and steeped in quotidian misogyny. "The Otherness of women is part of the fabric of Jewish life," declares professor Judith Plaskow. "Feminism demands a new understanding of Torah, God, and Israel: an understanding of Torah that begins with acknowledgment of the profound injustice of Torah itself."

Like most religions, Judaism could use a rewrite by now; and several of these contributors are going at it, beginning with an attack on the male imagery attached to God and reaching into forgotten mystic traditions, even into other cultures, for ideas and inspirations. New liturgies and ceremonies arising from Jewish feminist radicalism are

already popular in some congregations, and two such liturgies are included in this collection. At the moment, unfortunately, much of this innovative worship belongs in the same literary category as those hymns about love and the sunrise sung to an ill-plucked guitar at liberated Christian services, but time does wonders for a tradition.

These two books should be read together. Greenberg's uncritical celebration of Jewish family life is tempered dramatically by Mimi Scarf's essay on battered Jewish wives, which shows that domestic violence, whatever your grandmother may have told you, is not confined to *goyim*. And the more superficial essays are illuminated to a dazzling degree by Greenberg's step-by-step rehearsal of their complaint. Greenberg's profound reverence for the past does not commit her to a lifetime of looking backward, but it's the contributors to *On Being a Jewish Feminist* who are making her future possible. Packaged as a set they'd make a great bat mitzvah present. □

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—contributed by Susan A. Davis

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Memories of a Modern

RICHARD GILMAN

MY LAST SIGH: The Autobiography of Luis Buñuel. *Translated by Abigail Israel.* Alfred A. Knopf. 258 pp. \$15.95.

The appeal of film directors' biographies and autobiographies, which seem to be enjoying a modest publishing boom, is different from that of books about other kinds of artists. We read them to learn some secrets of movie-making, to be taken behind the scenes; but we also read them to become better acquainted with the minds and characters of this class of creator, whose contribution reaches us so much more obliquely than does that of writers or painters or even playwrights. That directors are the true authors of films, especially of good ones, is a commonplace, but the collaborative nature of filmmaking tends to mask the presence of the director from us while at the same time endowing him with a mysterious, romantic potency.

Luis Buñuel died in July at the age of 83, his reputation secure as one of the half-dozen or so contemporary masters of cinema. After his startling debut more than fifty years ago with the short surrealist films *L'Age d'Or* and *Un Chien Andalou*, his career went into a decline: he had trouble raising money, the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath drove him into exile, first in France, then in Mexico. His reputation picked up again in the 1950s, when *Los Olvidados* brought him a small group of aficionados, but it was only in the late 1960s and early 1970s that he attained broad public success, with *Belle de Jour*, *Viridiana* and *The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*. He made his last film, *That Obscure Object of Desire*, in 1977.

Buñuel calls *My Last Sigh* a "semi-autobiography" and apologizes for it repeatedly on several occasions. In this he resembles other filmmakers: Kurosawa titled his splendid memoir, which was published here last year, *Something Like an Autobiography*. The autobiographies of nearly all the directors I've read are marked by the same hesitation, a priori apologies, mumblings about fitness for the task—we're men of images not words, they all say—before they go on to try to

enlighten, instruct or amuse us.

Unlike Kurosawa's book and even less like Jean Renoir's *My Life and My Films*, perhaps the classic of the genre, *My Last Sigh* will tell you almost nothing about the making of films. About all Buñuel has to say about directing as an art or a craft is it "depends on your personal vision" and "I don't use any particular technique when I work." The book is more enlightening in its rambling, informal account of people and places, times and contretemps, and in its revelations of Buñuel's likes, dislikes, prejudices and often sweetly quirky attitudes toward matters large and small.

Buñuel seems to have known nearly everybody in the world of art and literature and to have had strong opinions about nearly all of them. Among the celebrated personages he disliked were the philosopher Unamuno ("pedantic and utterly humorless"), Picasso ("selfish and egocentric") and Borges ("pretentious and self-absorbed"). Those he admired included Lorca (though he thought his plays, with some justice, "ornate and bombastic"), the painters Léger and Max Ernst, André Breton and the director Fritz Lang, whom he regards as the biggest influence on his own career. About Salvador Dali, with whom he was intimately associated for many years, Buñuel's feelings range from almost brotherly affection to contempt for the charlatanism of Dali's later career.

The book is filled with remarks about things he favors and doesn't, from his taste in bars and drinks ("the decline of the aperitif may well be one of the most depressing phenomena of our time") to his opinions of entire cultures. Unfashionably, as he points out, he doesn't like "the Arab, the Indian or the Japanese civilizations," admiring only "the one in which I was raised, the Greco-Roman Christian." We learn that his well-known atheism was of a rather jaunty kind, that he hated statistics and acronyms, warm climates, the desert and the beach, liked firearms and other weapons, loved de Sade, adored Wagner and was filled with horror by the compulsion to "understand everything." When a film student told him that his dissertation was on the "semiology of the clonic image," he writes, "I could have murdered him on the spot."

Richard Gilman is theater critic of The Nation.

This easygoing humanist is nostalgic about the reign of surrealism in the 1920s, when it offered what he calls a "clear and inviolate moral urgency," which was to destroy rational and so, presumably, comfortable and self-satisfied bourgeois culture. "The idea of burning down a museum," he writes, "has always seemed more enticing than the opening of a cultural center." But such gestures or thoughts have lost their power to shock as he admits; he tells us how in 1955 Breton said to him, "It's sad, *chère* Luis . . . but it's no longer possible to scandalize anybody."

Surrealism seems the only artistic subject that galvanizes Buñuel's attention. Mourning its almost complete disappearance from the modern consciousness, he writes that the "exalted and . . . chaotic" movement "changed my life. I treasure that access to the depths of the self . . . that call to the irrational, to the impulses that spring from the dark side of the soul . . . the insolence and playfulness and obstinate dedication to fight everything repressive in the conventional wisdom." Buñuel's films, of which only the first were formally surrealist, reveal, of course, such values and urgencies. Irreverent, full of harsh beauty and capricious wisdom, these films are the reason we should want to read this charming book, which says so little about them. □

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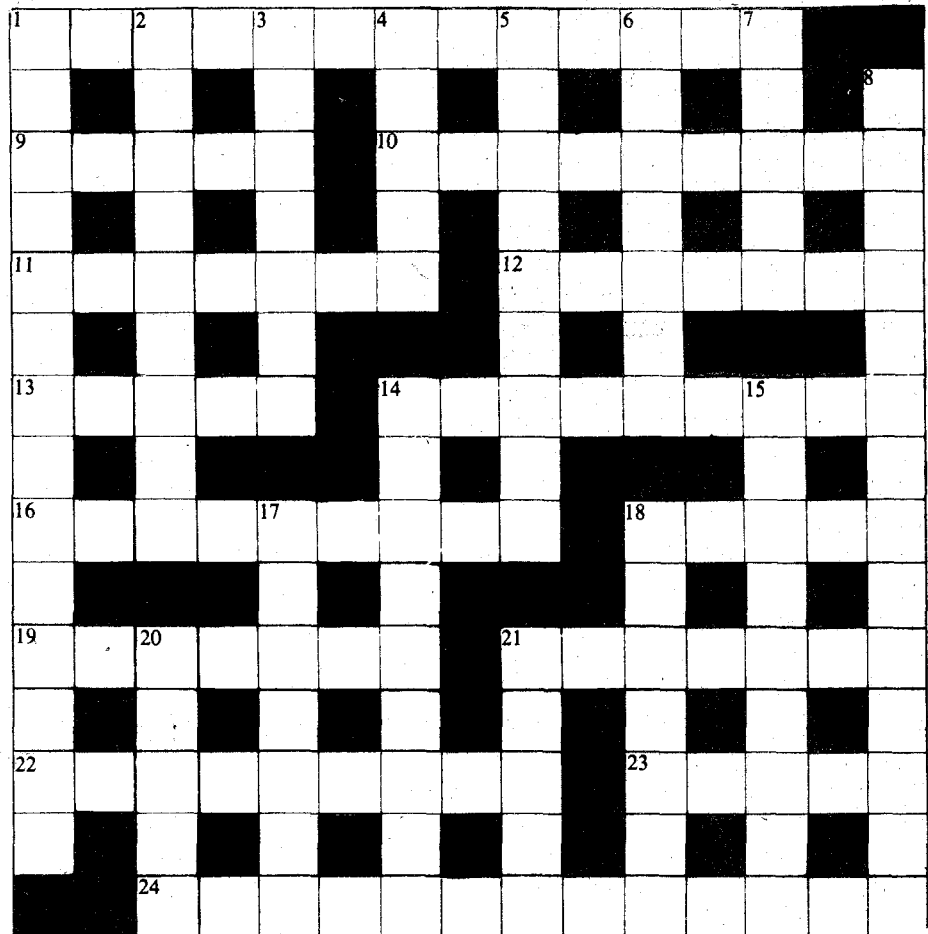
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SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1978

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Crossword Puzzle No. 1979

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 If you want to know why they create a ruler, it's this—and such a suit might be pressed later. (4-2-7)
- 9 A jazzman might recognize them, if they're other than African tribesmen. (5)
- 10 It might make the bobtail go, possibly with more classical stuff than 9. (9)
- 11 It wouldn't be likely to develop productive layers if the plant is nearby. (7)
- 12 Band? That sounds like what many people want this to be. (3,4)
- 13 A fine description of a distinction about a major point, but it's only relative. (5)
- 14 Sounds as though it should be a close relative of the puff adder, but it's actually a hog-nose. (4,5)
- 16 It's awful like the cookie creature of *Sesame Street*! (9)
- 18 Possibly a skit associated with former Russian America. (5)
- 19 Brick, commonly, such as one might see in the Kremlin. (7)
- 21 What Pavlov's dog did? (7)
- 22 No monarch is about when you get a good golf score, so you shouldn't stay to see it. (2,7)
- 23 It's really soft, and you might prefer the 10 on it soft, as well. (5)
- 24 Skyrocket? (However it might be used with 2-20.) (4,8)

DOWN

- 1 French sea-song associated with one to whom you might have been told to tell something—which might float a lot of business deals. (8,6)
- 2 and 20 What the submarine fleet is supposed to be for? (It might be common as a military strategy.) (7,2,5)
- 3 Where there's a will, there's such a person! (7)
- 4 There's nothing in Sir Thomas but an Irish poet! (5)
- 5 If so, we are told our makeup should be more stern, placing a boundary on debts. (9)
- 6 Was Long John Silver one of them—especially with a fancy pin used? (7)
- 7 Responsible for lyric poetry in the theater at one time. (5)
- 8 TT—and a flexible tube for one of those old habits! (7,3,4)
- 14 A lot of fire together with what might be printed for distribution, otherwise! (9)
- 15 Article covering a speech on the "Sesame" character—if you're upset, this might help! (9)
- 17 Bad sailors might find themselves in it. (3,4)
- 18 It's a sign of fall. (7)
- 20 See 2
- 21 What a mole might do from inside? (We could do it down in the garden.) (3,2)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

The Nation Reprint Mart.

Latin America: A Political Guide.

An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation's* award-winning Latin American correspondent.

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The Nation January Inauguration issue was devoted entirely to E.P. Thompson's compelling essay on the clear and present danger of nuclear war.

Intervention.

Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? An entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

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Warning that the peace movement must not be caught "sleepwalking," E.P. Thompson outlines the dangers of the Soviet "peace offensive," and urges the movement to eschew the seductions of both superpowers. Also included is a lively exchange of letters between Thompson and Norman Solomon, co-author of "Killing Our Own," debating the controversial issues raised by Thompson's brilliant essay.

Empire as a Way of Life.

William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life with an empire—and the implications of life without one—was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

The Selling of Japan.

From every quarter American business is urged to adopt some feature of Japan's stunningly successful economic model. But is this model applicable to the United States? What are the implications of Japanese solutions to the problems of American business? This issue opens up and expands the "Japan debate," while shattering some of the myths about the Japanese economic system now in circulation.

Feminist Books.

Today, an exciting new feminist scholarship is re-evaluating a host of subjects from sexuality to the history of socialism to coeducation. This special issue offers an up-to-date sampling of recent offerings in a field that is more lively, contradictory and urgent than ever.

Myths of the Middle East.

This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

Nuclear Samizdat.

What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

El Salvador.

A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

Disarmament: Covering the Unthinkable.

In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind; Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.

The New Arms Technology.

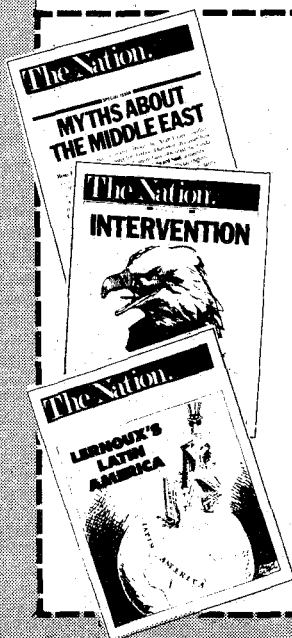
From the catapult to particle beam weapons, the engineering of death has concentrated more attention and resources than any other human endeavor. Nine leading experts explore and explain the latest arms technology—both "conventional" and nuclear—and trace the political decisions which have led us closer to Armageddon than ever before.

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